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ABSTRACT

Three technical reports and abstracts of colloquium papers are presented as part of a research project concerning the specification and testing of alternative models of intraorganizational career mobility among nonteaching professionals in universities. This project phase involved: the development of a model of evolving jobs as an alternative to the assumption that career mobility is a process of movement through a ladder of predefined jobs; definition of the policy implications of an evolving jobs process; and the development of a database allowing description and analysis of the nonteaching professional workforce at a public university. This database will allow comparison of patterns with somewhat comparable data already compiled for a private research university. A joint colloquium involving scholars from the University of Washington and Stanford University entitled "Organizations and Careers: A Joint Colloquium on Issues and Methods in the Study of Career Mobility in Organizations" was conducted to present work in progress related to this study and related issues. Eight abstracts and the following technical reports are presented: "Towards a Model of Evolving Jobs: Professional Staff Mobility in the University" (Suzanne Estler, Anne S. Miner); "Evolving Jobs as a Form of Career Mobility: Some Policy Implications" (Suzanne Estler); and "The Viability of Payroll Files in Exploring Evolving Jobs: A Progress Report" (Suzanne Estler). The evolving jobs model suggests that career development may involve the evolution of a set of responsibilities around an individual so that the job changes over time. (SW)

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ED249819

EVOLVING JOBS AND NONTEACHING PROFESSIONAL STAFF IN UNIVERSITIES

Final Report

Grant # NIE-G-80-0166

Suzanne Estler

July 1982

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
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Evolving Jobs and Nonteaching Professional Staff in Universities: An Alternative Perspective on Career Mobility Processes

Final Project Report to the National Institute of Education, Program of Grants for Research on Institutions of Postsecondary Education pursuant to grant number NIE-6-80-0166.

Suzanne E. Estler
Principal Investigator

University of Washington

July 1982

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Part II: "Evolving Jobs as a Form of Career Mobility: Some Policy Implications"

Part III: "The Viability of Payroll Files in Exploring Evolving Jobs: A Progress Report"

Supplement: Organizations and Careers: Conference Papers (under separate cover)

SECTION A

Summary

Summary

This study was one part of a longer term research effort leading toward the specification and testing of alternative models of intra-organizational career mobility among nonteaching professionals in universities. This particular phase of the project involved (1) the development of a model of evolving jobs as an alternative to perspectives assuming career mobility as a process of movement through a ladder of predefined jobs, (2) definition of the policy implications of an evolving jobs process, and (3) the development of a data base allowing description and analysis of the nonteaching professional workforce at a public university. This data base will allow comparison of patterns with somewhat comparable data already compiled for a private research university.

A joint colloquium involving scholars from the University of Washington and Stanford University entitled "Organizations and Careers: A Joint Colloquium on Issues and Methods in the Study of Career Mobility in Organizations" was conducted under the grant to present work in progress related to this study and related issues.

The evolving jobs model, based on qualitative research with professional staff at two universities, suggests that under certain organizational conditions career development may involve the evolution of a set of responsibilities around an individual so that the job changes over time. The model defines the organizational and individual attributes associated with responsibility accretion and the organizational, individual and environmental factors associated with formal recognition of an evolved job.

If an evolving jobs process occurs, formal personnel action occurs after the accretion of new responsibilities. Personnel processes and affirmative action policies tend to view mobility as promotion to a new set of responsibilities after mastery of a defined set of responsibilities associated with a job. In other words, formal personnel action occurs prior to responsibility accretion. The second major segment of the technical report explores the policy implications involved with recognition of an evolving jobs process.

Future efforts will require the ability to document the relative frequency of evolving jobs in a given organization. The third segment of the technical report describes the development of a historical data file on exempt employees spanning the years 1974 through 1980 and provides evidence suggesting that about 10% of the nonteaching professional workforce is formally reclassified each year in recognition of changed responsibilities within a given job.

SECTION B

Utilization of the Research

Utilization of the Research

The evolving jobs concept has implications for both policy and research applications. Publications, papers and presentations over the course of the grant period have resulted in dissemination of the findings to both applied and research audiences. The data bases developed at Stanford University and the University of Washington have already served both policy and research purposes and will provide a base for future research.

Both local and national research audiences have been exposed to the evolving jobs concept. Locally, this has occurred through a colloquium entitled "Organizations and Careers: A Joint Colloquium on Issues and Methods in the Study of Career Mobility in Organizations" at the University of Washington on September 24 and 25, 1981 and in a presentation to the Research Roundtable of the University of Washington Institute for the Study of Educational Policies in May 1981. In each case, a number of scholars from several disciplines throughout the University attended including Public Affairs, Social Welfare, economics and education. Presentation of the paper "Towards a Model of Evolving Jobs: Professional Staff Mobility in the University" co-authored with Anne Miner at the American Educational Research Association annual meeting in Los Angeles, April 1981 addressed a national audience. The formal response on the part of a designated discussant for the panel at which the paper was presented suggested the evolving jobs concept would affect the direction of research on career mobility for the next ten years. About thirty mailed requests for the paper in addition to those distributed at the presented suggested continued interest in the concept. A revised version of that paper presented in the Technical Report has been prepared for submission to the JOURNAL OF HIGHER EDUCATION.

While it is difficult to know the impact of disseminated research on other work, there are several continuing projects at Stanford and the University of Washington building on this study. Anne Miner, former Affirmative Action Officer at Stanford, who is collaborator on this project and a doctoral student in Organizational Behavior at the Stanford Graduate School of Business, is pursuing aspects of this study in her dissertation research. A master's project at the University of Washington is exploring the use of reclassification data as a means of identifying and following evolving jobs in the university. A University of Washington doctoral student in Educational Psychology is exploring the applicability of Markov models included in the RATE statistical package developed by Nancy Tuma, Stanford sociologist to the University of Washington exempt data file. The principal investigator is continuing to pursue the applications of both the Stanford and University of Washington exempt history data files to further policy issues related to the evolving jobs concept.

The evolving jobs concept has been presented in several settings at the University of Washington including a talk before the University Women's Council, a workshop for the University of Washington Family Medicine Regional Intern Program's network secretaries quarterly meeting and in a lecture for the Women's Information Center/ASUW Women's Commission lecture series. The immediate effect in these settings has been exploration of ways to assess the degree to which one's job may have evolved and strategies for gaining formal recognition. Nationally, publication of the article "Evolving Jobs as a Form of Career Mobility: Some Policy Implications" in the National Personnel Management Association Journal, Public Personnel Management, has exposed personnel managers beyond higher education organizations to the concept, eliciting responses particularly from hospital personnel managers. One particularly lengthy response came from a personnel manager at the United Nations who found the article to confirm many of his own observations regarding career mobility in public sector organizations.

SECTION C

Research Collaborators

Colloquium Program and Abstracts

Research Collaborators

A number of people, listed below, were involved in the actual research and the related conference. In some cases, graduate students who have taken an interest in the area are continuing exploration into questions raised by the study. Anne Miner and James March, the first two individuals listed, have been involved in this and related projects since its genesis around 1974. Miner, as indicated by co-authorship of one paper, has been an equal collaborator throughout. The second two, Candace Purser and Valerie Van Osdel, were paid research assistants. The remaining individuals were involved as interested graduate students who in some cases wrote papers specifically related to this project for the joint colloquium on organizations and careers. Unless otherwise noted, individuals are from the University of Washington. For the sake of brevity, I have not listed the many students, faculty and administrators who provided helpful feedback in various drafts and seminars related to the study.

Anne Miner, Graduate Student, Stanford University (Organizational Behavior)

James G. March, Professor, Stanford University (Organizational Behavior, Sociology, Political Science)

Candace Purser, Graduate Student - Research Assistant (Higher Education)

Valerie Van Osdel, Graduate Student - Research Assistant (Higher Education)

Judith Bride, Graduate Student - Data Analyst (Higher Education)

Bill Gregory, Graduate Student (Higher Education)

Janet Jaron, Graduate Student (Higher Education)

Daniel Levinthal, Graduate Student, Stanford University (Organizational Behavior)

Helen Remick, Director of Affirmative Action for Women

Allyn Romanow, Graduate Student, Stanford University (Sociology)

Judy Morton, Graduate Student (Higher Education)

Jitendre Singh, Graduate Student, Stanford University (Organizational Behavior)

Vicki Wilson, Graduate Student (Educational Psychology)

ORGANIZATIONS AND CAREERS:
A JOINT COLLOQUIUM ON ISSUES AND METHODS IN THE STUDY
OF CAREER MOBILITY IN ORGANIZATIONS

University of Washington

Thursday and Friday, September 24 and 25

Schedule of Events

Thursday, September 24, 1981

Noon	Lunch	South Dining Room Faculty Club
1:00	Welcome James I. Doi, Dean, College of Education	South Dining Room Faculty Club
1:15	Introduction and Overview James G. March, Graduate School of Business, Stanford University	South Dining Room Faculty Club
2:00	Paper Presentations and Discussion	Music Room Faculty Club
	"A Stochastic Process Model for Performance Sampling Applied to Job Mobility" Allyn Romanow, Sociology, Stanford University	
	"Organizations and the Illusion of Control" Jitendra Singh, Graduate School of Business, Stanford University	
	"Self-Selection by Job Choice" Daniel Levinthal, Graduate School of Business, Stanford University	
	"Assertiveness as a Factor Associated with the Career Development and Mobility of Women: An Exploration" Judy Merton, Higher Education and the School of Dentistry, University of Washington	
3:15	Break	Music Room Faculty Club

3:30	Paper Presentations and Discussion	Music Room Faculty Club

"Evolving Jobs: Definition and Policy Implications"
Suzanne Estler, Higher Education, University of Washington

"Notes on Evolving Jobs as Adaptive Mechanisms"
Anne S. Miner, Graduate School of Business, Stanford University

"An Ethnographic Glimpse at Changing Jobs Among University Non-Teaching Professionals"
Candace Purser, Higher Education, University of Washington

"Feasibility of Critical Incident Technique for Measuring Change in Jobs"
Bill Gregory, Higher Education, University of Washington

5:00	Wine and Cheese	202 Miller Conference Room
7:00	Salmon Bake and Proper Celebration	Sue Estler's house 807 NE 104th Seattle

Friday, September 25, 1981

9:00	Continental Breakfast	South Dining Room Faculty Club
10:00	Small Group Discussions	Music Room Faculty Club
Noon	Lunch	South Dining Room Faculty Club

A grant from the National Institute of Education, with additional support from the University of Washington College of Education and from the Organizational Research Training Program at Stanford University enabled us to offer this colloquium.

ABSTRACT

March and March in the Administrative Science Quarterly 1978 have developed a performance sampling model of career decision making to explain patterns of executive mobility. This paper develops an alternative model for performance sampling that retains the most important features of the prior model. The two important ideas are that employers make promotion and hiring decisions on the basis of a score kept on employee performance behavior; and that employers make career decisions based on imperfect information about employee behavior: in particular, employee performances are sampled rather than observed completely. Whereas the earlier version is simulated, the model developed here is analytically tractable and its description of behavior is intuitively satisfying.

The paper shows that an employee's performance score can be modeled as a Brownian motion, a continuous time, continuous state space stochastic process. Once this is established, the probabilities associated with promotions and firings become the boundary crossing probabilities for the Brownian motion. The probability distribution function that arises from this model, which is the Inverse Gaussian, fits March and March's data and also other job duration data sets. The paper explores various aspects of the model, such as job duration under different circumstances and various sampling schemes. A number of interesting probability distribution functions are derived, such as the distribution for the time to first promotion, for the time to leaving the first job by either promotion or firing, for the time to subsequent promotions after the first, and the promotion distribution for populations that are heterogeneous with respect to performance. Four increasingly random sampling schemes are examined and a stochastic model for attention that uses the Gamma process is shown to be a flexible and simple model for sampling observations.

Allyn Romanow
Sociology
Stanford University

Organizations and the Illusion of Control

by James G. March &
Jitendra V. Singh
Stanford University

ABSTRACT It seems plausible to suspect that top managers will often exaggerate the control they exercise over organizational outcomes. Some motivational, cognitive and organizational reasons for such an "illusion of control" ((Langer, 1975, 1977; Langer and Roth, 1975) are explored. In particular, it is argued that some organizational processes are themselves instrumental in the creation and perpetuation of this belief. One, organizations are socially constructed systems with myths about "good" management and managers. Control is an integral part of this myth, and this encourages the belief in control. Two, managers are promoted to higher positions largely on the basis of their past records of successes. Thus persons in top management jobs are likely to have had a sequence of successes in their careers. These success experiences reinforce the belief in personal causation. Some implications of an illusion of management control are discussed.

ABSTRACT

Self-Selection by Job Choice

Economic models of labor markets generally assume that firms offer employees wages proportionate to their productivity. Given a diverse pool of job applicants and less than perfect information on the part of employers, this assumption is unfounded. Firms offer applicants a combination of a wage and a specified job or job classification. This paper examines how information about applicants is revealed by their choice of wage-job package, when jobs differ in the degree of ambiguity between workers' actions and the outcomes for the organization. Jobs in which strong inferences may be made about the quality of work will attract high ability workers while those that have more ambiguous inference structures will attract low ability workers (assuming workers are paid there estimated productivity in the following period). Despite the fact that jobs with tight inference structures will attract high ability workers in the initial period, applicants who choose those jobs must be paid less than those who choose jobs with a more ambiguous inference structure in order to sustain the screening mechanism. Rigid and relatively low paying entry positions serve as a means of establishing ones ability, while relatively high paying less structured jobs do not provide such an opportunity.

Daniel Levinthal

ABSTRACT

ASSERTIVENESS AS A FACTOR ASSOCIATED WITH THE CAREER DEVELOPMENT AND MOBILITY OF WOMEN: AN EXPLORATION

The purpose of this paper is twofold: 1) to explore the literature relating to one individual factor (assertiveness) which may be related to the career development/mobility of women, and 2) to develop questions which may be explored in future research relating to assertiveness and the career development/mobility of women.

The literature reviewed is organized around the following questions:

1) What is assertiveness?

2) Can assertiveness be measured?

3) To what extent is assertiveness associated with three factors that relate to the career development/mobility of women?

   a) Self-concept

   b) Sex role stereotype

   c) Locus of control

4) To what extent is assertiveness associated with career development/mobility?

The literature review raises a number of questions which could be pursued in future investigations. A number of these are identified.

Judy Morton

ABSTRACT

Evolving Jobs: Definition and Policy Implications

This paper reviews the notion of evolving jobs as a mechanism of career mobility and structural change within organizations. Specific attention is given to the organizational and individual factors contributing to both an evolving jobs process and the formal recognition of an evolved job. Consideration is given to the potential effects of these factors on equal opportunity/affirmative action goals and policies of the organizatior.

Suzanne Estler
Higher Education
University of Washington

ABSTRACT

Some Organizational Consequences of Evolving Jobs

Anne S. Miner

In a prior paper "Towards a Model of Evolving Jobs," Estler and Miner describe such jobs and seem to imply that such jobs are generally beneficial to the organization. This talk will claim that jobs designed around current members of the organization (hereafter EJs) are neither uniformly beneficial nor harmful.

Systems of job descriptions and titles are important because (1) they affect the structuring of day-to-day activities and because (2) they name these activities. There can be relatively loose linkage between activities and names for stable jobs. With EJs the linkage may be even weaker. In a world with high EJs, it is not the case that ". . . movement of individuals through careers can be considered as a process in which vacancies will exist for individuals who quality for promotion and the rates of movement will be in balance."[1]

A high EJ world resembles more closely the streams of activity and naming, the EJ process can have both adaptive and dysfunctional consequences. I will discuss potential effects of EJs in three contexts: change, information and conflict. For example, EJs offer a vehicle for organizational change through learning about the outcome of certain ways of combining activities. Thus EJs offer a vehicle for adaptive search and change. At the same time, however, they can offer a basis for rigidity, through adjusting activities to whomever belongs to the organization already.

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[1] "Performance Sampling in Social Matches," March and March, ASQ. September 1978, Vol. 23, #3.

Finally, it will be noted that some of the literature on mobility and duration of job matches argues about alternative processes underlying outcomes, e.g., sorting versus adaptation. The EJ process provides a model at the micro level for one of the alternatives in the job-person adaptation process.

ABSTRACT

An Ethnographic Glimpse at Changing Jobs Among University Non-Teaching Professionals

An assumption in the literature about career mobility is that it is a rational process both from an individual and organizational perspective. In an attempt to begin a qualitative examination of organizational careers, a series of interviews were conducted (Miner and Estler, 1981) to assess how individuals at a university, specifically those categorized as non-teaching professionals, perceive the development of their careers.

This paper represents a further analysis of the interview data in terms of individuals' perceptions of what formal and informal factors have influenced the development of their careers within the university. Some of those factors also include illustrations of the non-rational aspects of the process such as the element of chance and the degree to which an individual's interest or excitement in his/her job played a part in their career development.

Candace Purser
Higher Education
University of Washington

ABSTRACT

This paper evaluates the use of an application of the Critical Incident Technique for the measurement of changing job responsibilities, a phenomenon of the postulated "evolving jobs process". The difficulties involved in describing jobs are reviewed, and the implications of using a critical indident approach described. Research findings (primarily from performance evaluation literature) relating to what psychometric characteristics could be expected are reviewed. The process is described, and examples given.

Bill Gregory

CURRENT OUTLINE

Difficulties inherent in describing jobs.

Method constraints of an "evolving jobs" study, and desired psychometric properites of a process.

Approaches to describing jobs, their advantages and disadvantages, and the relation of Critical Incident Technique to other methods.

Description of a process for describing jobs via CIT: For each incident particularly useful in accomplishing the mission of the job position list: A - The situation leading up to the behavior, what the aim of the behavior is; B - The specific behaviors undertaken to meet the challenge presented in the situation which were instrumental in creating the result; and C - The result which helped to accomplish the job position mission.

Suggested interview format.

Major pre-supposition to make if CIT is to be used by a job incumbent to describe a job: that the process would be similar to ones'evaluating his/her own performance.

Description of research findings concerning the reliability and validity of using specific behaviors(BARS) to describe performance.

Key characteristics of CIT which could result in enough objectivity for research of "evolving jobs": Behavior is described using a verb, minimizing the need for inference.

Proposed method of analysis: Use individual incidents to identify the possibility of change. Use a more complete listing of incidents in the Job Comparability Index recommended by Knake.

SECTION D

Technical Report

Technical Report

Overview

This project is part of a longer term study of intra-organizational career mobility processes among nonteaching professional staff in universities. The focus of this phase of the research was (1) the development of a model of career mobility based on the concept of evolving jobs, (2) consideration of the policy implications of an evolving jobs process and, (3) development of a data base at the University of Washington, a public research university, that might permit long term comparison with the existing staff history file developed at Stanford University in an earlier phase of this research.

The following technical report presents the results of the research aspects of this project in the form of a manuscript for submission to the Journal of Higher Education, a reprint of an article published in Public Personnel Management and a summary of work in progress related to building a University of Washington exempt staff history file.

The first part of the report entitled, "Towards A Model of Evolving Jobs: Professional Staff Mobility in the University," presents a working model of the evolving jobs process based on employee interviews, document review and participant observation at a private research university supplemented with similar study at a public research university. This paper defines the population of employees of concern in this research, provides qualitative substantiation of the existence of evolving jobs as a mechanism of career mobility and develops a model of the process. The model describes a process of mutual adaptation between individuals skills and interests and organizational needs and problems. In accounting for the interaction between the individual and the organization in career processes the model bridges two major approaches to career mobility one which considers only individual factors and the other considering primarily organizational factors.

The model represents the evolving jobs process as two loosely coupled segments. The first is a process of responsibility accretion occurring as the product of a series of individual and organizational variables. The second segment involves the individual, organizational and environmental factors influencing the probability that an evolved job would be formally recognized by the organization through such mechanisms as increased salary, a change in job title, or a change in reporting level. It concludes with consideration of future efforts in developing and testing the model.

It is particularly important to note that in the case of evolving jobs change in the formal job status occurs after rather than before a change in responsibility. Further, a job may change significantly in the kinds and levels of responsibility through the activities of the incumbent with no guarantee that such a change will necessarily be formally recognized within the organization. This raises one of the policy concerns addressed in the second part of the technical report

entitled, "Evolving Jobs As A Form of Career Mobility: Some Policy Implications."

Evolving jobs serve as an instrument of career mobility only in those cases in which the evolution is formally recognized. The process of responsibility accretion with attendant personal growth and stimulation poses both organizational and individual dilemmas. For the organization the issue revolves around control: Should jobs be permitted to change around individuals when the organization may not have the resources to reward them? The individual faces another version of the problem in that he or she may not be rewarded for taking on additional responsibilities, yet failure to do so could produce a disadvantage in experience in competing for more traditional promotion opportunities. This paper, aimed toward the practitioner, provides a more concise overview of the evolving jobs concept and discusses the dilemmas and concomitant policy implications produced by the process.

The third part of the technical report describes the exempt staff history data file at the University of Washington, its level of comparability with the Stanford Staff History File and demonstrates one way it can be used in connection with the evolving jobs concept. Due to differences in handling computerized payroll data as well as differences in respective job classification systems, the University of Washington Exempt History File is narrower in the portion of the university workforce it includes. The University of Washington data spans 1974 through 1980 compared with 1972-78 at Stanford. In both cases changes in personnel practices make some data elements in earlier years not directly comparable to similar elements in later years.

Analysis of the University of Washington data through transition matrices showing movement across salary grades from one year to the next suggests that about ten percent of all exempt jobs at the University are formally recognized in a given year as having changed substantially in responsibility.

Issues related to the research in the form of working papers were considered in a forum including scholars from both the University of Washington and Stanford University entitled "Organizations and Careers: A Joint Colloquium on Issues and Methods in the Study of Career Mobility in Organizations" at the University of Washington, September 24 and 25, 1981. An earlier section of this report includes the program for the colloquium and abstracts for each presentation. A separate, supplementary volume to this report includes copies of the papers presented at the colloquium.

Part I

Towards a Model of Evolving Jobs: Professional Staff Mobility in the University

Suzanne Estler
University of Washington

and

Anne S. Miner
Stanford University

A manuscript for submission to the JOURNAL OF HIGHER EDUCATION

TOWARDS A MODEL OF EVOLVING JOBS:

PROFESSIONAL STAFF MOBILITY IN THE UNIVERSITY

Suzanne E. Estler
University of Washington

Anne S. Miner
Stanford University

May 1982

We owe thanks to helpful comments and time spent on our behalf to Judith Bride, Carolyn Ellner, Mike Hannan, Elisabeth Hansot, Jim March, John Meyer, Candace Purser, Helen Remick, Laura Saunders, Shelby Stewman, Joan Talbert, Valerie Van Osdel and Harrison White. An earlier draft of this paper was presented at the American Educational Research Association Annual Meeting in Los Angeles, April 1981 and is based upon work supported by the National Institute of Education under Grant Number NIE-G-80-0166, the University of Washington Graduate Studies Research Fund and the Stanford University Affirmative Action Office. Any opinions, findings, and conclusions or recommendations are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of any of the supporting agencies.

Introduction

Career mobility among university non-faculty professional staff often does not conform to patterns predicted by cultural values and existing theories. Instead, movement within a university can be a process in which a job develops and changes over time depending on both the skills and interests of the incumbent and institutional problem-solving needs. While this idea seems obvious it contrasts with many existing models of intra-organizational mobility that assume upward movement through clearly bounded, pre-existing jobs. This article uses the results of exploratory research on career mobility at a private research university to consider a process of "evolving jobs" in contrast to the more traditional view of mobility through structured career ladders.

This article is one part of a larger research effort. Against background analyses of job-related data on computerized payroll files for each employee between 1972 and 1977, ethnographic methods were used to gain more understanding of career development including interviews, analysis of documents defining formal personnel procedures, and participant observation. This article serves as a bridge between initial observations and formal study to test the notions they suggest. It represents work in progress on developing a model, and it includes speculation about: (1) the organizational and individual factors that might produce careers characterized by evolving jobs rather than traditional career ladders, and (2) the conditions under which an evolved job may be formally recognized.

Rationale

This paper addresses a relatively neglected area in the study of academic organizations: the intraorganizational movement of non-teaching professional staff in a university. Unlike other facets of the university, e.g., the faculty and their career processes, it is an area that has had relatively little study. While there has been some work looking at non-teaching professional staff in colleges and universities, most recently reviewed by Scott (1978), there has been little attention to its mobility processes.

This group includes employees who do not serve on the faculty, although they may serve the faculty and the institution. Scott (1978) draws a feudal analogy contrasting this group as the "lords, squires and yeomen" of the university to the "monarchy" of central administrators, including the chancellor, the president, and provost, and the "royal family" of the faculty. At the institution under study there are about 1,800 administrators or professionals who are not drawn from the faculty of about 1,000. Excluding some 600 research professionals supported by soft money, there are about 1,200 professionals and administrators who are our primary concern. They work at such jobs as student service officer, department administrator, fund-raiser, lawyer, writer, auditor, space coordinator, public affairs officer, accountant, and the like. Although their job responsibilities may be similar to counterparts in corporations, these employees rarely have planned career ladders comparable to those in many corporations.

There are a number of organizational characteristics within the university contributing to this pattern:

1. The structure of the university has a dual nature. The faculty, characterized by collegial values,constitutes the dominant professional group in relation to the university's mission. Faculty and those administrators drawn from the faculty have primary policy power. Nonteaching professionals (or exempt employees under the Fair Labor Standard Act definition) are organized to execute policy in a more bureaucratic administrative structure. Exempt employees understand they will never become president, chancellor, or dean in the organization given that these roles are typically filled by faculty.

2. The administrative structure is relatively flat. People often hold positions that are not far removed hierarchically from either the most senior or least senior employees in the system.

3. Diverse and sometimes inconsistent goals, unclear technology for achieving them, and competing demands on the attention of participants create a high degree of ambiguity in organizational processes (March and Olson, 1976). In relation to exempt employees this ambiguity can affect the allocation of responsibilities, standards and procedures for performance, and the nature of supervisory authority. Particularly, in many one-of-a-kind jobs supervision may be quite loose.

4. The nature of resource flow makes the organization highly vulnerable to its external environment (Baldridge et al., 1977). The political nature of both private and public funding sources as well as changeable student markets encourage the development of boundary spanning roles buffering the organization from its environment. Under the current conditions, such roles typically require high degrees of discretionary responsibility and flexibility (Thompson, 1967). This leaves those roles particularly difficult to fit into a highly defined bureaucratic structure and quite open to the responsibility accretion process characteristic of evolving jobs.

The aggregate effect of these organizational characteristics is limited structured career advancement opportunities for nonteaching professional staff. This apparent limited opportunity for advancement runs counter to cultural and social values that frequently view career mobility as a sign of success recognizable as an individual moves to increasingly

important jobs within or across organizations (Kanter, 1977; Maccoby, 1976). Attempts to understand more thoroughly the processes of intra-organizational mobility have led to several recent studies which test explanatory models through statistical methods (Konda & Stewman, 1980; Rosenbaum, 1978, 1979). Variations on Markovian analyses employ a number of assumptions about the mobility process as an outcome of individual attributes, organizational attributes, or in rare cases, as a combination of the two. Such studies implicitly assume that mobility is primarily recognizable by movement through clearly defined, stable, and pre-existing jobs. In the university, the pattern appears, instead, to be much more fluid. An alternative mobility process may have developed in which jobs are neither stable nor clearly defined. Under some conditions, they appear instead to evolve in their scope, responsibilities, and even existence around individuals. This is the phenomenon we have labelled as an evolving jobs process. While other authors have alluded to aspects of such a process, it is a concept that has yet to be fully developed (Doeringer & Piore, 1971; Granovetter, 1974; Thompson, 1967; and Williamson, 1975).

Evolving Jobs

The evolving jobs notion can be illustrated by case histories. For example, among subjects in the study, there was an individual hired first as a rather unsuccessful secretary and then as a more successful administrative assistant in the engineering school. The initial responsibility was to assure for the dean that the forms involved with staff personnel

matters were properly completed and processed by principal investigators and departmental administrators. However, subsequent to her appointment in 1969, increased attention on the part of the university to personnel procedures, increased government regulations, and accompanying complexity in coordinating procedures and practices between the university and the specific needs of the engineering school produced problems which increased the work and responsibility load of the administrative assistant. Over the course of the next ten years, the job was redefined with each of the five reorganizations of the school's administrative structure to encompass and acknowledge the responsibility accruing to the individual. Ultimately, the job had expanded to include management responsibility of a staff of five and major discretionary responsibility in representing the interests of the engineering school within the university. The job evolved to become titled "Manager of Personnel Services." While there were a number of title changes for the individual,they were changes not to new jobs, but to better describe and reward the responsibilities that had grown about the original job.

In another case an employee worked in a central accounting job assigned on a project basis to various areas of the university, including subunits of the central accounting office itself. One assignment required a review of the area the employee now heads. The review suggested serious problems in the existing structure and procedures, and a set of recommendations were made for correcting them. These recommendations involved a restructuring of the responsibilities assigned to various jobs in the area. The employee's

own supervisor, who ultimately was responsible for the area being reviewed as well, asked the employee if she could implement the recommendations if given responsibility associated with the redefined department head's job. After she said yes, the incumbent department head was reassigned elsewhere and she was put in charge of the department in a newly defined role.

This process sometimes occurs "by accident"--as above--and sometimes by intent. For example, one subject described how he might go about creating a new job for himself. He works in an area supporting efforts to find new grants for the university and has held several jobs in the area. Based on his own experience, he concluded that there is one untapped group of potential funding agencies. One possibility he saw was to make the case for the potential of that source and propose a new job to develop it. He assumed with good reason that if he argued for its potential, developed a sensible plan, and could convince others that the project could not be done through reassignments of current people, a job would be created and he would fill it.

In each of the preceding cases, the employee was viewed as successful and mobile despite the lack of a clear career ladder or a calculated plan for career development. In these and other cases, the individual viewed his or her success as the result of chance: "being in the right place at the right time." The process appears idiosyncratic to participants. The perspective allows understanding of a process that is marked on the surface by such idiosyncracy.

Definition

These cases are not easily explained by theories of career mobility which assume a career within an organization consists of a series of successively more responsible jobs. Under usual theories as the individual masters the defined responsibilities of a given job, he or she may apply or be selected for a defined job with greater responsibility. The opportunity to move to a more responsible job occurs when a vacancy appears in a chain of jobs at a level more senior to the individual. When circumstances limit the number of vacancies, such as a period of economic downturn or limited growth within the organization, the situation is viewed as one limited in career opportunities.

Under circumstances producing the evolving jobs phenomenon we suggest that causality is reversed: the individual in a given job accrues responsibilities beyond those expected through normal maturation in the job prior to a formal change in job status. The effect is to produce some organizational careers based on gradually accrued responsibilities resulting from the interaction of individual skills and interests and the flow of organizational problems, solutions, and decision arenas. Consistent with this definition, career mobility becomes a dynamic process occuring through responsibility accretion over time. The job can "evolve" in terms of title, salary, and additional budget and staff to reflect the changing level of responsibility.

We have called such jobs "evolving jobs" here to contrast them with preplanned, or fixed jobs. At present, however, we do not mean to use the

concept of evolution in its pure form. Evolutionary processes require some source of variation (e.g., random variation in genes), some selection mechanism, and some replication mechanism such as genes (Hannan & Freeman, 1977). We have not developed here a description of jobs that embody these components. There are, however, three ways in which the processes described here are similar to evolutionary processes. First, evolutionary processes are historical. Where you end up is shaped by where you have been (it is too late, most likely, for human beings to develop wings). Evolving jobs are often heavily dependent on very specific prior histories of people and tasks.

Second, evolutionary processes are not necessarily optimizing. Fitness is a comparative matter. Similarly, evolving jobs typically develop in incremental steps, sometimes in the "satisficing" mode where the first satisfactory solution is accepted over the single optimizing solution.

Third, as in evolutionary processes, chance plays a dominant role. While we attempt in this paper to suggest some personal traits of employees that may increase the odds that they will end up in such a post, we believe them when they report that the <u>specific</u> outcomes often resulted from chance--in their words, from "happening to be in the right place at the right time."

Implicit in the prior discussion, the process can work in a devolving direction as well. In one case an individual jealously guarded information related to a specific area of the job in such a way that the other employees found alternative sources for the information, thus decreasing the importance of the first individual and increasing the importance of others. Insofar

as our concern is with mobility, this paper focuses on the positive case where responsibility accrual occurs.

What the process is not. There are a variety of practices that would not fit with the notion of job evolution as described here, although they undoubtedly occur and are important.

First, "evolving jobs" are not totally unformalized jobs. In the stories above, for example, each person has a relatively clear set of responsibilities and activities, recorded somewhere formally. These are not jobs that would be described as follows: "Oh, we just tell Smith to do whatever he wants to do." There would be no way to deduce the process of formation of these jobs by checking job descriptions at any single point in time.

Second, the evolving jobs described above are not part of the planned employee development programs, "grooming" or long range personal career planning efforts. In no case was there a conscious management assessment of the employee's abilities at an early stage, and a step-by-step plan to expand their duties. Nor was there an employee plan along the lines of "I want to take over this whole department in three years and this is how I'll get there."

Third, this is not a vacancy chain process. Indeed, if evolving jobs are common, the notion of vacancy chains becomes more complex.

Finally, evolving jobs do not necessarily involve "political" maneuvering by managers or employees, although they clearly provide opportunity for such activity.

The Model

Existing theories of mobility suggest two possible outcomes resulting from an organizational decision to offer and the individual decision to accept a given job. The first, and presumably desired outcome, is good performance within the defined job. The second possible outcome is a mismatch between the employee and the job. The quality of performance may be viewed as determined by a combination of skills, experience, and attitudes the individual brings to the job and organizational factors enabling or restraining the application of those attributes to the set of tasks and responsibilities defined as the individual's job. For example, in the positive outcome case, an individual might be hired as Director of Computing, bringing appropriate skills into an organizational environment placing high value on developing its computing facilities. The combination of circumstances are such that the person has a high likelihood of effectively carrying out the expectations of the job. In the case of a mismatch, the same individual might enter an organizational environment where resources are scarce and the political dynamics are highly conflict-ridden in respect to the role of computing, making effective performance in the job possible but considerably more difficult. In effect, the probability of a satisfactory match is reduced by the organizational factors. The liklihood of success would be further reduced if the individual brought less complete skills to the job.

We can capture the combination of circumstances contributing to the likelihood of success in the job as probability "a_1," with "a_2" representing

the probability of a mismatch. Given that $a_1 + a_2 = 1$, as circumstances favorable to success combined in a_1 increase, the probability of a mismatch, a_2, decreases. These alternatives are implied by traditional models of intraorganizational career mobility which assume bounded jobs and responsibility accretion through successive jobs.

The evolving jobs model implies a third alternative outcome: a job is offered and accepted and the individual accrues additional responsibilities within that job. In such a situation a subsequent job may represent (1) a title change to acknowledge the increased responsibilities, (2) a collection of responsibilities assigned to consolidate those already accrued, or (3) a restructuring to provide additional staff to support the new combination of responsibilities the individual has accrued. This responsibility accretion alternative poses a third probability "a_3" where $a_1 + a_2 + a_3 = 1$.

Insert Figure 1 about here

Figure 1 represents a diagram of these alternative hiring outcomes and subsequent outcomes. In the cases of evolving jobs and good performance within defined jobs some of the outcomes look similar, e.g., new title, promotion to new job, and lateral transfer. In each case, however, they differ--under the evolving jobs circumstances the formal changes in job status represent acknowledgement or adaptation to an existing reality resulting from responsibilities already accrued. In the good performance

situation, they represent a step toward greater responsibility through a new, usually existing, job or simply a reward for good performance within the job already being done. Throughout the remainder of this paper we will be concerned specifically with the branch of the diagram having to do with evolving jobs. Specifically, we want to define organizational and individual conditions that might enhance the likelihood that (1) an evolving job would occur, and (2) its occurrence would be formally recognized.

The Probability of Responsibility Accretion

Observations provided through interviews and analysis of organizational contexts suggested that the process of responsibility accretion was contingent on both individual, organizational and environmental factors. Our view of the responsibility accretion process inferred from these observations assumes a highly contextual decision-making process described by Cohen, March and Olsen (1973) as one in which relatively independent streams of problems, solutions and participants converge around choice opportunities or occasions in which the organization is called upon to produce a decision. Timing and competitive choice opportunities affect the specific mix of participants, problems and solutions attending a given decision. Recurring and/or anticipated problems are typically assigned to specific employees as part of their job responsibilities in order to routinize reponses to those problems. Thus many problems may be attached to specific participants. However, as participants change and as new problems arise they are more

available to attach to participants not previously identified with them.

Circumstances may change the importance of a problem to the organization. Thus a problem initially viewed as relatively unimportant may increase or decrease over time, and with it the importance of the job to which it has become attached. Thus the probability of individual responsibility accretion is a function of the frequency of contact with unattached problems, the individual response to the problems, and environmental circumstances affecting the relative importance of the problem over time. Table 1 lists those factors appearing to influence the likelihood of a job evolving around an incumbent based on responsibility accretion. In considering those factors, it is important to be conscious that a particularly high set of values on either the individual or organizational dimension for a given individual is not likely to be sufficient to overcome a complete absence of facilitating factors on the other dimension. In other words, an individual who we might think of as an entrepreneur may not accrue additional responsibilities to her or his job if that job offers absolutely no flexibility or opportunity to link with new problems in the environment.

Throughout this section we will consider the factors outlined in Table 1 in greater detail.

Insert Table 1 about here

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1. Individual factors influencing the probability of responsibility accretion.

The first set of factors inferred from analysis of the interview data relate to individual attributes affecting responsibility accretion. The hypothetical individual these factors suggest is likely to be in an evolving job situation is one who: (1) is skillful in the use of his or her assertiveness, persistence, savvy and the connections associated with job responsibilities to move the organization "to get things done"; (2) is characterized by intellectual curiosity demonstrated by an interest in problem solving, imagination in seeking solutions and tolerance of ambiguity; and (3) uses both native ability and formal training to execute responsibilities in a highly competent manner. This section elaborates on these three clusters of variables.

Ability to influence organizational processes--This label reflects a combination of attributes which allowed the individual to be perceived as someone who could "get things done" within the organization. Assertiveness enhanced the employee's visibility as a potential respondent to a given problem. Many of those who seemed to accrue responsibilities over time went through bad times as well as good times. Persistence in pursuing specific problems despite, for example: (1) a new supervisor who proved the focus of organizational disruption until deciding to leave, and (2) insufficient resources, ultimately allowed those individuals to gain further credibility because they maintained their commitment despite temporary organizational adversity. These attributes tended to be enhanced by an openness to risk taking which allowed the employee to assume responsibility for new problems

which could lead to failure and public embarrassment as well as success.

Most of the subjects attributed their success to "being in the right place at the right time." While most did not articulate it, they shared the ability to recognize the right place and time not only in relation to their careers, but perhaps more important, in recognizing and responding to problems facing the organization. This attribute, here labeled organizational savvy, was demonstrated as well in knowing who to keep informed and involved as situations progressed.

The degree to which the preceding individual attributes could be effectively employed were influenced by the organizational position of the current job. The individual's niche in the organization affected the opportunity for exposure to unattached problems, and the access to mentors and sponsors who could support him or her in becoming identified with and solving the problem.

Intellectual Curiosity--The ability to influence organizational processes in itself does not explain responsibility accretion. Indeed, it is a label which describes many who take on a prescribed set of responsibilities and do them well without adding additional ones to their jobs. Rather, almost without exception, those whose jobs had evolved described themselves as "trouble-shooters." They shared an "intellectual curiosity" that was demonstrated in a problem-solving interest allowing them to address new problems regardless of the organizational risks involved. Their intellectual curiosity was also characterized by a tolerance of

ambiguity inherent in dealing with unattached problems and the imagination to both generate alternative solutions and define a particular problem in a way consistent with their skills and interests allowing them a greater chance to be assigned responsibility for the problem.

Performance/competence--The obvious hedge against failure is being good at what one does. The final individual attribute appearing basic to accretion of responsibility is recognized ability to deal with organizational problems demonstrated in native ability, formal training and past experience. In many cases, individuals took on problems for which they had no specific training. They did, however, consistently take pains using native ability to learn about the problem and possible solutions.

2. Organizational factors associated with responsibility accretion.

The second set of factors listed in Table I represents the organizational conditions most favorable to the development of evolving jobs. These include (1) high problem activity produced by external turbulences; (2) internal instability produced in managerial turnover or reorganization; (3) the organizational goals, culture and values which define the formal and informal "rules of the game" within which the individual must function; and (4) organizational slack which can provide the resources for innovation.

High problem activity--Areas characterized even temporarily by high problem activity are likely to offer greater opportunity for people within their domains to identify themselves to an unattached problem. Conversely,

in an area with highly prescribed jobs and few attached problems, there will be fewer opportunities for identification with new problems. Over time, however, a specific crisis can make an area with normally low problem activity very active. There are two sets of conditions, often related, which can serve to increase problem activity: external turbulence and internal instability.

External turbulence--Shifts in the flow of critical resources produced by external turbulence favor increased discretion in boundary spanning jobs. These jobs would otherwise tend to become routinized in a stable environment (Thompson, 1967). Shifts in resource flow to the organization can also produce internal growth or decline affecting problem activity within the organization.

Growth--Organizational growth frequently produces problems and situations that have not been previously assigned to a specific job. Further, there is potential for developing a job by tapping previously untapped resources. In periods of growth, we would expect to see new jobs created particularly around more entrepreneurial employees. There are two major effects of declining resources on evolving jobs: (a) When an employee leaves, there are incentives to reallocate responsibilities to existing jobs or to delay hiring in order to save salary costs. Thus, there is an opportunity for employees in the system to assume the now unattached responsibilities. (b) New problems arise that may not be preassigned within a job structure established to meet the demands of a steady or growing state. This again provides opportunity to assume responsibilities in an

area of growing importance to the organization.

Internal instability--may be represented by reorganization or managerial turnover. Either situation provides an occasion for the redistribution of responsibilities among employees within a given domain, and for a redefinition or priorities for the work of an area. Such situations often seem to provide occasions for the accretion of responsibilities ideally in a way to more effectively use the skills and interests of existing employees.

Organizational goals, culture and values--some organizations or units within organizations provide greater opportunity than others for responsibility accretion by virtue of the goals, culture and values determining the structure and formal and informal "rules of the game." These rules and the structure they reflect determines who has access to arenas where unassigned problems may be parceled out. Goal clarity may influence the proportion of problems that are assigned to existing jobs.

Ambiguity in goals and technology--is likely to increase the number of unassigned problems. In organizations or organizational subunits where goals are ambiguous or in conflict, it is not likely that one clear set of tasks can be defined to meet them. We know, for example, what set of tasks is necessary to build an automobile, and responsibilities can be clearly assigned to a set of jobs to do so efficiently. It becomes less clear when we talk of producing an educational program to meet teaching, research, and service goals. In a situation where the technology associated with a job and an organizational unit is unclear to participants,

there is far greater opportunity for responsibility accretion than a situation in which jobs are tightly coupled with specific problems.

A high organizational value on professionalism is likely to increase the likelihood of responsibility accretion as a result of the autonomy and discretion demanded for the expert development and application of knowledge.

Organizational slack--Access to unclaimed resources, especially discretionary time or funds, facilitates the development of new projects that can lead to an evolved job.

The probablity of formal recognition of an evolved job

Once responsibilities accumulate around a person's job there may or may not be formal recognition of this fact. In a system with a limited formal job structure this recognition may be limited to salary. However, in the more typical case where there are formal job categories, recognition may include (1) a change in job title, (2) a reclassification of the job to a higher paying and more prestigious level, or (3) a restructuring of the job around the new responsibilities. In addition, there are means of recognition that do not involve an immediate change in the formal job status such as providing additional staff to the person to handle additional responsibilities, merit pay increments, and inclusion in higher level decision-making areas. As with the process of responsibility accretion there are individual organizational and environmental attributes influencing the probability of formal recognition of greater responsibility in the

jobs. These factors are summarized in Table 2 and represented in Figure 1 as probabilities "b_1," and "b_2."

Insert Table 2 about here

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1. Individual factors affecting formal recognition of an evolved job.

The individual factors influencing recognition overlap with some of the attributes involved in responsibility accretion. In this case, the individual with the assertiveness, persistence, savvy, and risk-taking ability to move the system may apply those attributes to initiating formal procedures for reviewing the status of an evolved job. Assertiveness is involved in initiating procedures, persistence in pursuing recognition over time and through alternative channels if necessary; and organizational savvy in knowing when and through what channels to push the process. The individual's organizational position influences such elements as access to peer alliances, mentors and sponsors who can bring the employee's expanded responsibilities to the attention of others able to initiate formal actions for recognition.

2. Organizational factors influencing recognition of an evolved job.

For formal recognition, the organizational factors affecting the process assume primary importance over individual factors. As noted in Table 2, conditions most favorable to formal recognition involve

(1) the attributes of problems for which the employee assumes responsibility, including importance, visibility and distastefulness to others who might logically deal with them; (2) the structural flexibility in budget and personnel procedures to effect a change in formal status; and (3) the presence of triggering events, such as supervisory initiative, reorganization or a formal audit of a group of jobs which might reveal discrepancies between the existing title and salary and the responsibilities handled by the employee. An elaboration of these factors offer a clearer picture of their role in the process of formal recognition.

Problem attributes--(a) The importance of the problem: If the individual has gained a great deal of responsibility around a problem of marginal concern to the organization there is little cost to the failure to recognize those responsibilities. Conversely, an important problem, if unaddressed, could have major consequences. Thus, there is an incentive and a net gain involved in recognizing the role of the person addressing it; (b) Visibility: A problem may be important but not very visible. Accretion of responsibilities about problems affecting large numbers of people, and that are central to key decision makers or serious to the survival of the organization, are likely to be both visible and recognized; (c) Distastefulness to others: Problems that no one wants are likely to be formally recognized to keep them where they are.

Structural flexibility--Most colleges and universities have some set of standard operating procedures governing the administration of personnel matters. These procedures are in many cases only loosely connected to the management structure and procedures involved with the individual job. Thus an individual manager may be limited in the amount of control he or she may exercise over the timing and implementation of the promotion or reclassification of a subordinate. The formal procedures involved with personnel matters such as reclassification, salary administration, and promotion provide the framework within which the manager and individual employee must work to implement formal change in an individual's job status. The flexibility or rigidity of these rules play an important role in the speed and manner of formal recognition of an evolved job.

In addition to the flexibility of procedures surrounding personnel matters, the manager is constrained by the rules and procedures surrounding the administration of the budget. Given the fiscal implications typically involved with formal recognition of an evolved job and the availability and flexibility of procedures association with the allocation of funds influence the ease with which a manager can affect a formal change in job status. A particularly rigid set of procedures related to either personnel or budget increases the energy and consequently the cost involved in gaining a formal change in job status. We might note that the energy required may vary with the status of the person asking for a change. If a member of the "monarchy" asks, wheels may well move more quickly than for a "squire." While the managerial

"gaming" encouraged by a particularly rigid set of rules may lead to a kind of organizational pathology, complete flexibility represented by the absence of rules could encourage a particular pathology of the evolving jobs process, allowing jobs to be based primarily on personal attributes.

Triggering events--In addition to individual and organizational attributes which can enhance an employee's efforts to win formal recognition of an evolved job, there is a class of events,"triggering events," which can cause recognition without employee initiative. The first, and perhaps most frequent, is supervisor initiative. As noted earlier, the rank, status and proximity of the supervisor to the central decision-making authority can affect the success and speed of supervisor efforts.

A formal job audit instituted across the organization on such occasions as an affirmative action review, the development of a new compensation system or a new job classification system, can call attention to circumstances in which an employee's job has evolved so that he or she is handling a distinctly different set of responsibilities than those for which he or she is rewarded in terms of salary or title.

Finally, reorganization also provides an occasion for scrutiny of job responsibilities which can bring organizational attention to an evolved job. The hiring of a new manager may often be accompanied by some reorganization.

Environmental factors--The preceding individual and organizational conditions reflect the observation that, in dealing with the day-to-day demands of organizational life, routine review of jobs often falls by the wayside. More typically some combination of individual and organizational circumstances serves to draw attention to specific cases where a job may warrant a change in status. External circumstances including exit options for the employee and turbulence which increases the importance of a given job may serve to attract attention to the need for formal action to assure the employee remains with the organization.

Exit opportunities, i.e., labor market demand factors, play a role in determining the degree to which an evolved job will be recognized. Insofar as an employee serving an important function has the possibility of gaining rewards in another organization there are incentives to recognize the employee through a change in job status to keep the person within the organization. This suggests, for example, that on average, evolved jobs may take longer to be recognized in economic hard times, and may be recognized more quickly in occupational areas that are in high demand in the general labor market.

Environmental turbulence relates to exit opportunities insofar as it may increase the incentives to remain competitive with other organizations to maintain stability among employees whose jobs have evolved to respond to external pressures potentially effecting the flow of resources to the institution. Thus we might expect admission staff in colleges

struggling for enrollments to have more immediate formal recognition of evolved jobs than employees involved with internal administration.

Future Efforts

Future directions involve both further development of the model and and empirical research in several organizations to test its validity.

Development of the Model

At a theoretical level, we need to explore more systematically the linkages of evolving jobs to several models of organizational processes. Consistent with population ecology models, we plan to begin with a careful review of possible selection processes.

First, we will explore the possibility of considering a job or job series as a "species" that replicates itself over time through written job descriptions. Consider, for example, a large, highly elaborate job classification system with fixed job descriptions. Assume that job content is actively reviewed only when an incumbent departs, and a decision must be made about replacing the person. The combination of duties that seem currently useful are continued, even after the person around whom the job was designed departs. On the other hand, the job is not perpetuated if the duties no longer seem useful. If so, only relatively more adaptive jobs survive over time.

In these circumstances, the practice of creating a small but steady number of idiosyncratic jobs could be adaptive for the organization as a whole. Thus, if we posit a small but continuing percentage of jobs

that get created around individuals on an exception basis, we can see these jobs as a source of variety while the overall system is a source of repetition. Note that this particular process could help an organization adapt to change with no particular awareness or intention for it to do so.

Consistent with our prior discussion, this process depends on uncertainty about how duties may be combined. It also requires, however, that there is some ability to evaluate outcomes in a meaningful way. If there is not, no functional selection process could occur and we would expect purely political models to apply. Also, if no jobs are discontinued, the outcome could be highly dysfunctional.

This line of inquiry suggests the importance of looking at job "death" and what actually happens when evolved incumbents leave evolved jobs. Observation suggests some variation: sometimes the job re-emerges. It may be reclassified, divided among several other jobs, or simply filled by a new person with similar duties. In the latter case, a search is likely to be for an employee with formal training for a job originally developed by an individual who may have had little formal training in the specified area.

At a macro level, we need to consider the effects of different levels of evolving jobs across population of organizations. The degree of evolving jobs may have implications for survival of populations of

organizations. It is at least theoretically possible that populations of organizations survive in part because they, for whatever reasons, found levels of evolving jobs that prevent overrigidity but also avoid excessive design around individuals. We assume this would be a highly contingent pattern related to environmental and resource dependencies in particular.

Thus, we do not expect a uniform outcome of the existence of evolving job systems. Intuitively, it seems likely that pathologies will occur in organizations representing the extremes of an evolving jobs continuum: both a structure so rigid and defined that there are no evolving jobs, and one in which jobs are developed entirely around individuals are likely to be dysfunctional in effectively matching individual skills and interests with organizational problems.

Additional contexts for further theortetical work include political models of organizations (illustrated by Pfeffer, 1980), selection models for job/person matches (illustrated by March & March, 1978), and a variety of economic work on job characteristics (illustrated by Williamson, 1975). In the first area, we are especially interested in evolving jobs at higher levels. Certainly we imagine that a job may get defined around a person who then defines organizational goals. Causality here runs in the opposite direction of our ordinary notion of the organization having goals and looking for a person to meet them. At the first examination, it again appears that such a process could be either pathological or adaptive, in different circumstances.

In the second area, we need to consider carefully the problem of performance sampling. Both the employee and employer draw conclusions about the employee's abilities from samples of the employee's actions and apparent consequences. Evolved jobs, then, develop not around the actual abilities of an incumbent, but around the results of such sampling. The consequences of sampling error, and distributional characteristics of the underlying population need to be explored.

Finally, we will examine the linkage of evolving job processes to economic literature treating firm-specific knowledge, job creation, and innovation.

Empirical Issues

Empirically there are questions of measurement and method to be addressed in order to begin formal research employing an evolving jobs notion. For example:

1. How do we know an evolved job when we see it? While we have listed a number of indicators characteristic of some evolving jobs, some of the time we must more formally define indicators that are more consistently reliable in separating traditional promotions from indicators of an evolved job.

2. To what extent can we measure the relative stability of a job structure where we would characterize an area with a high proportion of evolved jobs as unstable? Relevant elements might include (a) the degree

to which procedures have developed for exceptions to formal search and selection rules, (b) the number of employees using those exception procedures, and (c) the organizational response to jobs as employees leave. A bureaucratic model predicts existing jobs would be filled as they were previously defined. An evolving jobs model would predict considerable variation in the response.

3. While instruments exist to assess the aggregate importance of responsibilities attached to professional jobs, we must evaluate their effectiveness in tracking a dynamic process in which the basic nature of the responsibilities change as well as their relative importance.

Significance

An evolving jobs perspective on intraorganizational career mobility has both the theoretical and applied significance. For scholars it represents a way of looking at careers in organizations that takes into account both individual and organizational factors. In particular, it suggests that models built on vacancy chain assumptions, i.e., that careers are built through a movement through a series of vacant jobs, may be inappropriate to settings characterized by structural ambiguity. The notion of evolving jobs, if accurate, is important to the design of personnel systems in higher education more specific to a realm where the job structure may be more unstable than those in corporations. Career development programs, for example, would focus more on responsibility accretion than on planning for a career ladder consisting

of a series of jobs. In other words, programs would be more suited to an environment where future structures are more unpredictable. Affirmative action implications center on equity in both the process of responsibility accretion as well as formal outcomes such as title changes typically monitored under affirmative action programs. If numbers of any particular population group were favored in the responsibility accretion process, which may not be monitored, they would be at an advantage in the evaluation of experience in personnel actions such as promotion, reclassification or transfer. The final procedures could stand up to tests of procedural fairness though a potentially discriminatory effect could result from the unobserved bias in the responsibility accretion process.

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TABLE 1

FACTORS AFFECTING THE PROBABILITY OF RESPONSIBILITY ACCRETION

Individual	Organizational
- Ability to influence organizational processes	- High problem activity
. Assertiveness	- External turbulence
. Persistence	. Growth
. Openness to risk taking	. Decline
. Organizational savvy	- Internal instability
. Organizational position of current job (visibility, access)	. Reorganization
- Intellectual curiosity	. Managerial turnover
. Problem-solving interest	- Organizational goals, culture and values
. Tolerance of ambiguity	. Access
. Imagination	. Ambiguity in goals and technology
- Performance/competence	. Professionalism
. Native ability	- Organizational slack
. Formal training	. Resources for innovation
. Past experience	

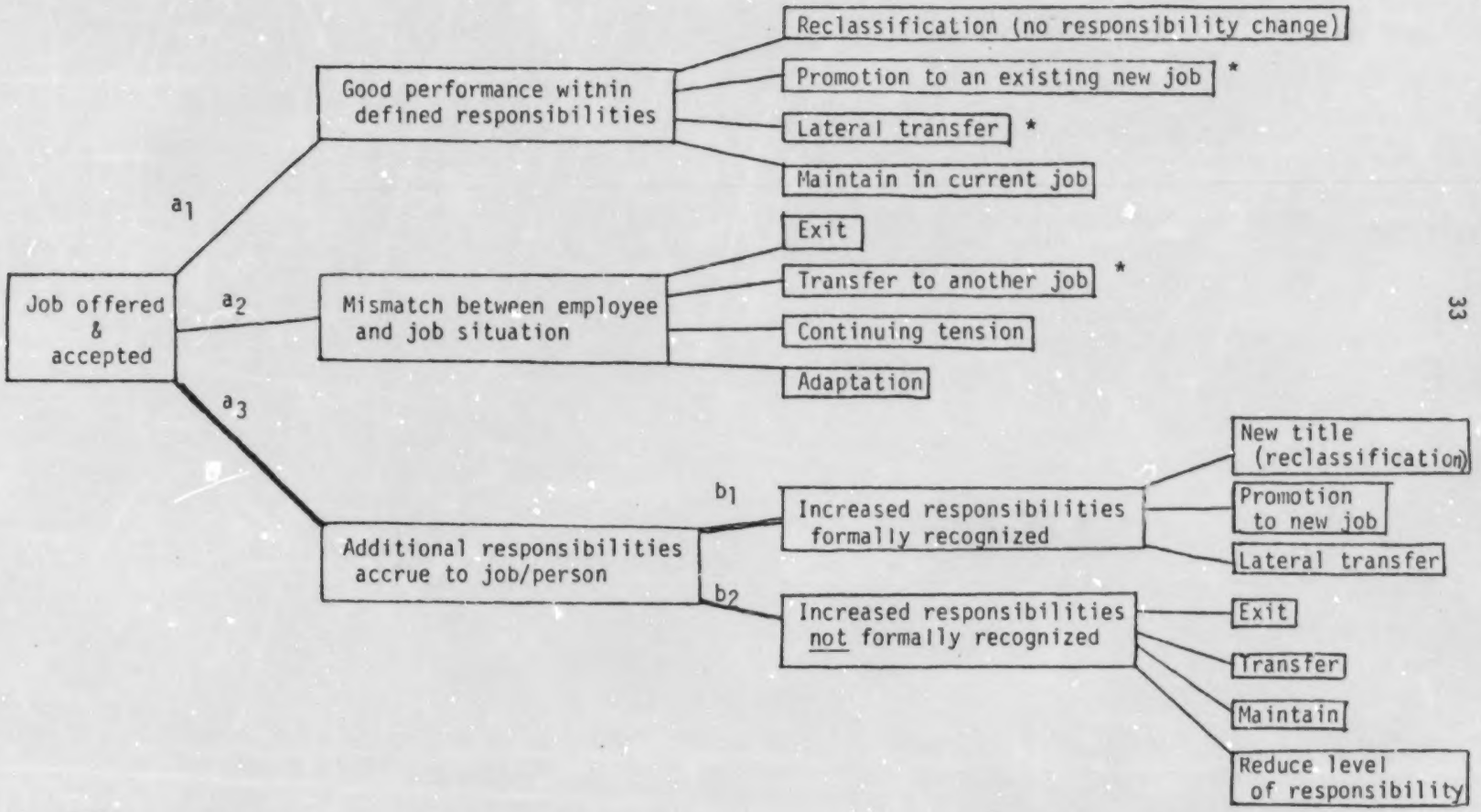
TABLE 2

FACTORS AFFECTING THE PROBABILITY OF FORMAL RECOGNITION OF AN EVOLVED JOB

Individual	Organizational	Environmental
- Ability to move system	- Problem attributes	- Exit alternatives
. Assertiveness	. Importance	- Turbulence
. Persistence	. Distastefulness	
. Savvy	- Organizational flexibility	
- Organizational position	. Budget slack	
. Alliances	. Personnel procedures	
. Persistence	- Triggering events	
. Savvy	. Supervisor initiative	
	. Audit (e.g., affirmative action review, institution of compensation system, recognition	
	. Organizational restructuring	

FIGURE 1

Alternative Outcomes to Hiring Decisions



* Asterisk indicates process may return to beginning and possibly alternative paths

Part II

Evolving Jobs as a Form of Career Mobility: Some Policy Implications

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Evolving Jobs As A Form Of Career Mobility: Some Policy Implications

by

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Introduction

Career opportunity in the traditional sense of upward movement through an organizational hierarchy may appear particularly limited for professional employees in certain kinds of organizations and under current economic conditions. Organizations characterized by relatively flat hierarchies and/or those limited or declining in the number of jobs are typically those in which we would expect to find limited career opportunities. Universities, colleges, and government agencies are obvious examples. Kanter[1] discusses at length the negative effects of limited opportunity on morale, performance and turnover. These effects are greater for minorities and women who are likely to be more recent hires and thus frozen in low level, low paying jobs. New responses and new perspectives on the process of mobility are needed if organizations are to maintain vitality and morale in the face of declining resources. I will focus on (1) an alternative process, called "evolving jobs", which are partially independent of hierarchical mobility, (2) the potential positive and negative effects which could result from this process, and (3) the policy implications suggested by those effects. I will not advocate evolving jobs but instead will note the conditions under which the process exists in practice, consider their effects and discuss some of the dilemmas which they present to organizations and employees.

This paper is one part of a larger research effort. Against background analyses of job-related data on computerized payroll files for each employee at a medium sized, private research university between 1972 and 1977, ethnographic methods were used to gain more understanding of career development. These methods included interviews, analysis of documents defining formal personnel procedures, and participant observation. The research project was exploratory in nature with a view toward developing a model for testing in further studies. An earlier paper by Estler and Miner[2] discusses evolving jobs at length and describes the conditions under which an evolved job may be formally recognized by the organization. This paper extends that work to an understanding of the equity implications of the process of evolving jobs.

The focus for the research project was intra-organizational mobility among nonteaching

professional staff in universities, after it was observed that much of an individual's career typically develops within a single organization. In the past the research on mobility has tended to look instead at inter-organizational movement over an individual's lifetime.[3] The focus on the university reflects interest in an organization with properties quite different from business organizations such as hospitals, schools and some government agencies. Some of these properties include: (1) a dual structure in which most professionals within the administrative structure are subordinate in prestige and power to the faculty, which represents the dominant professional group relative to the organization's mission; nonteaching professional staff understand they will never become president, chancellor, or dean; (2) the administrative structure is relatively flat. People often hold positions that are not far removed hierarchically from either the highest or lowest level employees in the system. Thus the kind of vertical mobility generally identified with careers in large business organizations is severely limited; (3) diverse and sometimes inconsistent goals, unclear technology for achieving them, and unpredictable environmental demands on the organizations create ambiguity in the allocation of responsibilities, the standards and procedures for evaluating performance, and the nature of supervisory authority. In short, it is a system which does not provide formally structured career opportunities (or ladders) so often described in large corporations.[4]

These organizational conditions led us to expect to find the frustration associated by Kanter with limited career opportunities.[5] Instead, we found that in many cases jobs were not static but tended to change or evolve around the individuals holding them, thus the label "evolving jobs". It is a perspective in which jobs are viewed as bundles of responsibilities, activities, and privileges. Attached to these bundles are salaries or wage rates, titles, and unwritten customs. An evolved job is one in which the "bundle" of duties have come to be arranged in large part to match an existing employee's perceived "bundle" of abilities and interests.[6] The process of evolution is one in which both organizational factors and individual attributes interact to create an essentially different job than that for which the employee was originally hired. The evolved job, which may remain quite stable once it has been created, becomes an instrument of career mobility through a second process, also involving individual and organizational variables, leading to formal recognition of the new set of responsibilities.

Illustrations

The evolving jobs notion can be illustrated by case histories. For example, among subjects in the study, there was an individual hired first as a less successful secretary and then as a more successful administrative assistant in the engineering school. Her initial responsibility was to assure the dean that the forms involved with staff personnel matters were properly completed and processed by principal investigators and departmental administrators. However, subsequent to her appointment in 1969, increased attention on the part of the university to personnel procedures, increased government regulations, and accompanying complexity in coordinating procedures and practices between the university and the specific need of the engineering school produced problems which increased the work and responsibility load of the administrative assistant. Over the course of the next ten years, the job was redefined with each of the five reorganizations of the school's administrative structure to encompass and acknowledge the responsibility accruing to the individual. Ultimately, the job had ex-

panded to include management responsibility of a staff of five and major discretionary responsibility in representing the interests of the engineering school within the university. The job evolved to become "Manager of Personnel Services". While there were a number of title changes for the individual, they were changes not to new jobs, but to better describe and reward the responsibilities that had grown about the original job.

In another case an employee worked in a central accounting job assigned on a project basis to various areas of the university, including sub-units of the central accounting office itself. One assignment required a review of the area the employee now heads. The review suggested serious problems in the existing structure and procedures, and a set of recommendations were made for correcting them. These recommendations involved a restructuring of the responsibilities assigned to various jobs in the area. The employee's own supervisor, who ultimately was responsible for the area being reviewed as well, asked the employee if she could implement the recommendations if given responsibility associated with the redefined department head's job. After she said yes, the incumbent department head was reassigned elsewhere and she was put in charge of the department in a newly defined role.

This process sometimes occurs "by accident"—as above—and sometimes by intent. For example, one subject described how he might go about creating a new job for himself. He works in an area supporting efforts to find new grants for the university and has held several jobs in the area. Based on his own experience, he concluded that there is one untapped group of potential funding agencies. One possibility he saw was to make the case for the potential of that source and propose a new job to develop it. He assumed with good reason that if he argued for its potential, developed a sensible plan, and could convince others that the project could not be done through reassignments of current people, a job would be created and he would fill it.

In each of the preceding cases, the employee was viewed as successful and mobile despite the lack of a clear career ladder or a calculated plan for career development. In these and other cases, the individual often viewed his or her success as the result of chance: "being in the right place at the right time." The process appears idiosyncratic to participants. The evolving jobs perspective allows understanding of a process that is marked on the surface by such idiosyncrasy.

These cases are not easily explained by theories of career mobility which assume that a career within an organization consists of a series of successively more responsible jobs. Under usual theories, as the individual masters the defined responsibilities of a given job, he or she may apply or be selected for a defined job with greater responsibility. The opportunity to move to a more responsible job occurs when a vacancy appears in a chain of jobs at a level more senior to the individual. When circumstances limit the number of vacancies, such as a period of economic downturn or limited growth within the organization, the situation is viewed as one limited in career opportunities. Under circumstances producing evolving jobs, the causality associated with promotion is reversed: the individual in a given job accrues responsibilities beyond those expected through normal maturation in the job prior to a formal change in job status.

The process can work in a devolving direction as well. In one case an individual jealously guarded information related to a specific area of the job in such a way that the other employees found alternate sources for the information, thus decreasing the importance of the first individual and increasing the importance of others. Insofar as our concern is with mobility, this paper focuses on the positive case where responsibility accrual occurs.

Factors Affecting Job Evolution

There are two processes inherent in the evolving jobs as an instrument of career mobility. These processes are illustrated with more usually expected outcomes to hiring decisions in Figure I. The first process is the actual accrual of responsibility or the changing of the bundle of tasks and responsibilities associated with an individual and his or her job title. The second process is the formal recognition of the changed responsibilities. While a job may evolve, it does not become an instrument of career mobility within the organization unless the change is somehow formally recognized. This recognition may occur through a formal reclassification with a new title and salary, a change in reporting function, or the addition of staff to aid in the implementation of more responsibility. For the sake of simplicity, we will focus on the former and more obvious means of recognition: title and salary changes.

Before considering some of the general properties of these processes and some of the policy concerns they suggest, we will consider some of the elements which appear to cause them to operate. In each case we will consider the equity implications of the conditions.

Responsibility Accretion

Observations provided through interviews and analyses of organizational contexts suggested that the process of responsibility accretion was contingent on both individual and organizational factors. Table I lists those factors appearing to influence the likelihood of a job evolving around an incumbent by responsibility accretion. In considering those factors, it is important to be aware that a particularly high value for either individual or organizational dimensions is not likely to be sufficient to overcome a complete absence of facilitating factors on the other dimension. In other words, an individual who we might think of as an entrepreneur may not accrue additional responsibilities to her or his job if that job offers absolutely no flexibility or opportunity to link with new problems in the organization. It is also true that facilitating organizational factors are not likely to overcome an absence of any positive values on individual dimensions.

The first set of factors relate to individual attributes affecting responsibility accretion. The hypothetical individual these factors suggest is most likely to be in an evolving job situation is one who: (1) is skillful in the use of his or her assertiveness, persistence, savvy and the connections associated with job responsibilities to move the organization "to get things done"; (2) is characterized by intellectual curiosity demonstrated by an interest in problem solving, imagination in seeking solutions and tolerance of ambiguity; and (3) uses both native ability and formal training to executive responsibilities in a highly competent manner.

The second set of factors listed in Table I represents the organizational conditions most favorable to the development of evolving jobs. These include (1) organizational instability, which could be produced by growth, decline and/or managerial turnover; (2) conditions generating a high number of unresolved problems, not yet attached to specific jobs; and (3) the organizational goals, culture and values which define the formal and informal "rules of the game" within which the individual must function.

Further, in organizations or organizational sub-units where goals are ambiguous or in conflict, it is not likely that one clear set of tasks can be defined to meet them. We know, for example, what set of tasks is necessary to build an automobile, and responsibilities can be clearly assigned to a set of jobs to efficiently do so. Tasks become less clear when we talk of producing an educational program to meet teaching, research and service goals. In a situation where the technology associated with a job and an organizational unit is unclear to par-

FIGURE 1 Alternative Outcomes to Hiring Decisions

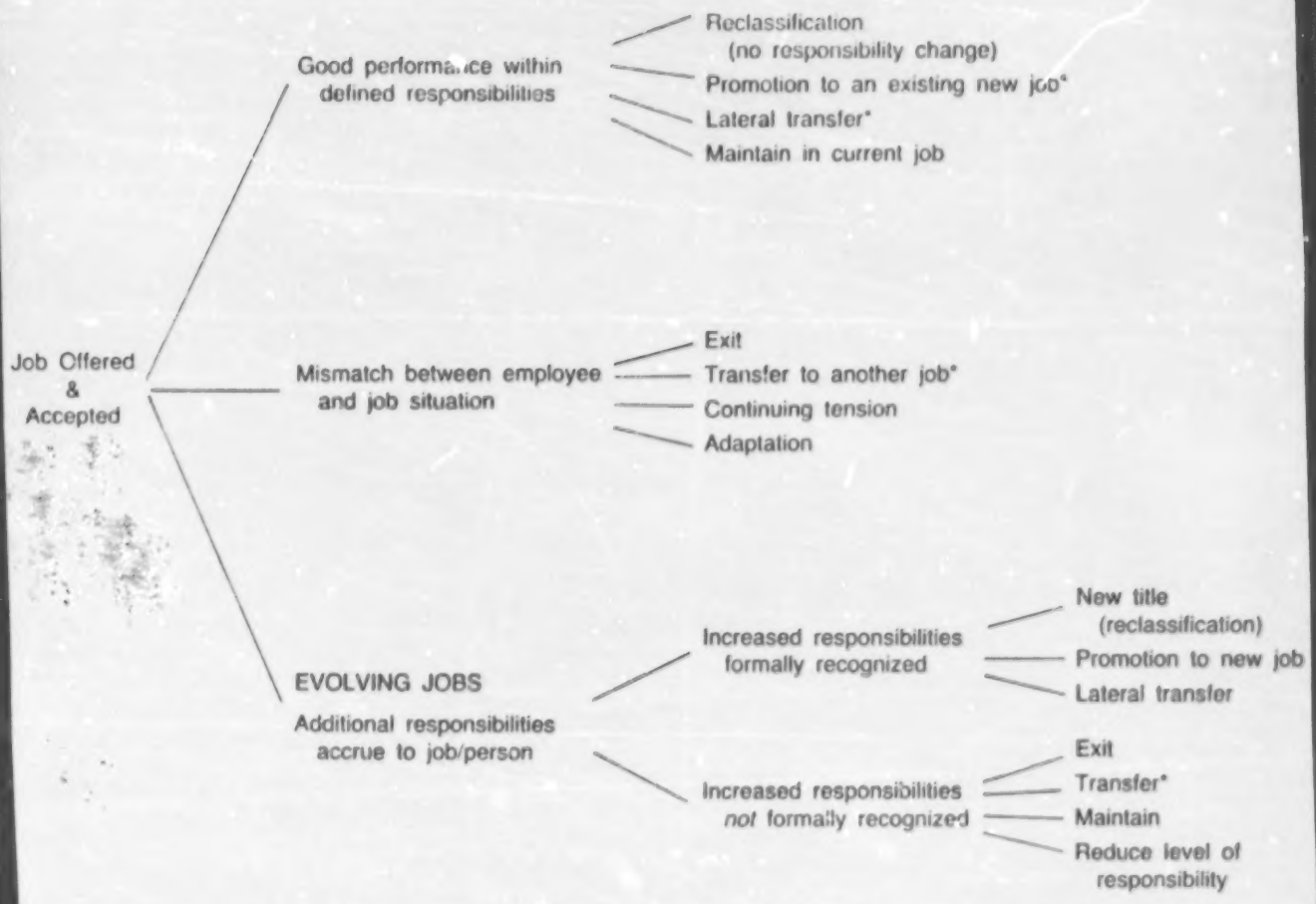

TABLE I Factors Affecting the Probability of Responsibility Accretion

Individual	Organizational
—Ability to influence organization system • Assertiveness • Persistence • Openness to risk taking • Organizational savvy • Organization position of current job (visibility, access)	—Organizational instability • Growth • Decline • Managerial turnover —High problem activity • Turbulent internal or external environment —Organizational goals, culture and values • Access • Professionalism • Nature of the product —Organizational slack • Resources for innovation
—Intellectual curiosity • Problem-solving interest • Tolerance of ambiguity • Imagination	
—Performance/competence • Native ability • Formal training • Past experience	

TABLE II Factors Affecting the Probability of Formal Recognition of an Evolved Job

Individual	Organizational	Environmental
—Ability to move system • Assertiveness • Persistence • Savvy	—Problem attributes • Importance • Visibility • Distastefulness	—Exit alternatives —Turbulence
—Organizational position • Alliances • Persistence • Savvy	—Organizational flexibility • Budget slack • Personnel procedures	
	—Triggering events • Supervisor initiative • Audit (e.g., affirmative action review, institution of compensation system, recognition)	

ticipants there is far greater opportunity for responsibility accretion than a situation in which jobs are tightly coupled with specific problems. We might note here that a third set of factors, not included in the table, representing the external environment indirectly affects the responsibility accretion process through its effect on the preceding organizational factors.

With the possible exception of placement in the organization, these factors do not appear to suggest that any population group such as men or women, minorities or nonminorities would be inherently favored in the responsibility accretion process. In most organizations, white males tend to dominate in the higher managerial roles which provide immediate access to new problems seeking solutions. This difference may be offset in its effect on responsibility accretion, however, by fairly immediate access to information provided to those staffing higher positions in roles more open to women and minorities.

Managerial attention to equity in the formal allocation might help to further assure equal access to responsibility accretion by women and minorities. The more important equity concern in the evolving jobs process resides in the formal recognition of the evolved job.

Formal Recognition

Once a job has evolved to represent a predominantly new set of responsibilities, it may or may not come to be formally recognized by the organization. Table II summarizes those individual organizational and environmental factors which appear to influence the recognition process represented by a title and/or salary change.

The individual factors influencing recognition overlap with some of the attributes involved in responsibility accretion. In this case, the individual with the assertiveness, persistence and savvy to move the system may apply those attributes to initiating formal procedures for reviewing the status of the evolved job. Assertiveness is involved in initiating procedures, persistence in pursuing recognition over time and through alternative channels if necessary; and savvy in knowing when and through what channels to push the process. The individual's position in the organization influences such elements as access to peer alliances, mentors and sponsors, who can bring the employee's expanded responsibilities to the attention of others able to initiate formal actions for recognition.

For formal recognition, the organizational factors affecting the process assume primary importance over individual factors. As noted in Table II conditions most favorable to formal recognition involve (1) the attributes of problems for which the employee assumes responsibility, including importance, visibility and distastefulness to others who might logically deal with them; (2) the organizational flexibility in budget and personnel procedures to effect a change in formal status; and (3) the presence of triggering events, such as supervisory initiative or a formal audit of a group of jobs which might reveal discrepancies between the existing title and salary and the responsibilities handled by the employee.

The preceding individual and organizational conditions reflect the observation that, in dealing with the day-to-day demands of organizational life, routine review of jobs often falls by the wayside. More typically some combination of individual and organizational circumstances serves to draw attention to specific cases where a job may warrant a change in status. External circumstances including exit options for the employee and turbulence which increases the importance of a given job may serve to attract attention to the need for formal action to assure the employee remains with the organization.[7]

Unlike the responsibility accretion process, the formal recognition process has the potential for differential effects on various population groups. Organizational position may affect

the response to efforts to gain recognition: those in more powerful positions are typically more likely to gain more immediate and favorable attention, and more powerful positions tend to be dominated by white males. In addition, the effect of exit options on bringing attention to an evolved job favors those for whom the job market is most active: again most likely to be white males. In both cases factors not intentionally linked to race or sex can serve to have a differential effect on the formal recognition process.

Implications

The preceding description of the evolving jobs process suggests several general properties that have implications for personnel procedures within the organization:

1. The responsibility accretion process and the recognition process are only loosely coupled. The means by which a job evolves is not necessarily tied to the formal process by which the organization rewards responsibility.
2. Individual characteristics and responses are a necessary (though not sufficient) property of the responsibility accretion process. If the organization demands duties beyond the wherewithal of the individual, they will not be fulfilled; yet in even rigid organizational circumstances an individual can shape the job at least minimally.
3. The organizational characteristics and responses are a necessary element of the formal recognition process.
4. An evolved job is one in which the bundle of duties have been arranged in large part to match an existing employee's perceived bundle of abilities and interests. It may remain rather stable once it has been created.
5. Both processes are subject to unintentional effects of both individual and organizational actions.
6. Many of the same individual attributes leading to responsibility accretion also influence the recognition process. However, the organizational conditions influencing the two processes are quite different. Thus, an individual may indeed change the job and take initiative to gain recognition, but there is no guarantee the segment of the organization which can grant recognition will take such action.

The properties of the process suggest a number of dilemmas for both the organization and the individual. At one level there are some attractive features to a world which allows jobs to evolve to some extent around individuals (if not carried to an extreme creating a complete lack of structure): it allows personal growth, a more effective matching of organizational needs and individual skills and interests, and the possibility of job change even when promotional possibilities are severely limited by either a flat structure or limited resources.

However, the loose coupling between the responsibility accretion process and the recognition process creates a situation in which the factors affecting recognition could have differential impact on various population groups. While men and women, for example, may have equal access to new responsibilities in their jobs, exit alternatives and more powerful initial positions have historically favored men. The effect is for a recognition process which may act, largely unintentionally, to favor men. A woman could respond to this difference in the likelihood of formal recognition by avoiding additional responsibilities; but this choice ultimately may reduce her attractiveness for promotion through traditional means, since she would be likely to be competing with others who may have visibly demonstrated their competence through responsibility accretion. Or she may choose to assume more responsibilities but not ultimately receive formal recognition for it (a risk to which all employees are subject, but perhaps greater for women because of a less favorable labor market).

While additional responsibility may be inherently satisfying to the individual and useful to the organization, the organization faces dilemmas related to both control and equity. As jobs evolve, they become less connected with the compensation and classification systems instituted to help assure equity among employees. Allowing job evolution and the individual growth associated with it could lead to inequitable rewards in a situation where the organization cannot guarantee recognition. In order to meet budgetary responsibilities, the organization must to some extent know its obligations in advance, requiring some control over the compensation level of jobs. The organization is faced with the problem of whether to encourage a process with potential benefits to both the employee and the organization, at the cost of a loss in control over the job structure and with no guarantee the evolved job can be formally recognized; or to invest energy in the imposition of bureaucratic controls over a process which may be largely uncontrollable, given the organizational processes which permit it. In most cases this dilemma seems to be dealt with by leaving the process at an unconscious level and treating the evolved jobs brought to conscious attention as exceptional cases. Indeed it is interesting to note that universities that have moved to structured compensation systems tend to have fairly routine procedures for dealing with exceptions to rules for promotions.

The existence of a relatively unconscious, non-formalized process for mobility, side by side with a set of formal procedures, presents a problem for affirmative action policies typically designed to monitor formal processes. Conscious recognition of an evolving job process would call for attention by managers to the delegation or allocation of new responsibilities to assure that individual competence and interest affects the decisions independent of ascriptive characteristics such as race or sex. Particularly in situations demanding a great deal of discretion and trust, ascriptive characteristics may become a proxy for unmeasurable or unknown dimensions of values and loyalty. Someone "like oneself" may be more likely to be assumed to have similar values than one who is different. Given the high proportion of white, male managers in most organizations, there could be an unconscious tendency to favor white males in the allocation of responsibilities. The effect is to provide a competitive edge in past experience when candidates enter the more formalized recognition process. Conscious recognition of the responsibility accretion process would serve to focus affirmative action efforts earlier in the causal chain in systems characterized by evolving jobs.

The informal and unintended nature of the evolving jobs process in the first stage suggests affirmative action efforts aimed at formal monitoring may be less effective in assuring equity than those aimed at educative efforts to raise the awareness of managers and supervisors. The second stage, consisting of the formal recognition process, however, is more amendable to formal monitoring. Many existing mechanisms already serve this purpose. More specifically however, the evolving jobs model draws attention to those procedures involving reclassifications or exceptions to formal open posting policies for filling newly created jobs. For example, are there mechanisms in an organization's reclassification process to "discover" the less assertive employee whose job may have evolved as significantly as those already reclassified? Is there a disproportionate number of reclassifications requested or approved for any single population group or organizational unit? Such questions, of course, assume the existence and at least semi-formal acknowledgement of evolving jobs.

An alternative is to limit responsibility accretion so that career mobility occurs only through regular, more controlled procedures involving formal promotion or transfer prior to the addition of new responsibilities. This choice might ease the equity monitoring problem in the job evolution process, but it may create other problems for the organization. In short, the option of dealing with evolving jobs through tighter bureaucratic controls may simply be infeasible. The existence of evolving jobs appears to be, at least partially, an adaptive response

to organizational conditions such as ambiguity in goals, technology, authority and demands on the organization which do not fit neatly into Weber's world of rational bureaucracy. Evolving jobs represent one means by which the organization can respond more quickly to a relatively unpredictable world. Under these conditions, evolving jobs may be a fact of organizational life. Conscious recognition of this fact allows us to be aware of and attend to the equity implications, particularly in the formal recognition process, thus enhancing the chances for evolving jobs processes to make a positive contribution to organizational and individual lives rather than to become a pathological deviation from bureaucratic structures and procedures.

Notes

[1]Rosabeth Moss Kanter, *Men and Women of the Corporation*. (New York: Basic Books, 1977).

[2]Suzanne E. Estler and Anne S. Miner. "Towards a Model of Evolving Jobs: Professional Staff Mobility in the University", (Los Angeles, CA: Paper for American Research Assoc. Annual Meeting, April, 1981).

[3]James E. Rosenbaum. "Tournament Mobility Career Patterns in a Corporation", *Administrative Science Quarterly*, (June 1979), pp. 220–241.

[4]This perspective on the university as an organization draws heavily from the work of James G. March and Associates represented in greatest detail in March and John P. Olsen, *Ambiguity and Choice in Organizations*. (Bergen, Norway: Universitetsforlaget, 1976).

[5]Kanter, *op. cit.*

[6]Anne S. Miner. Personal Correspondence. September 1981.

[7]The notion of exit opportunities and their effects on employee longevity in the face of dissatisfaction is introduced and discussed at length in Albert O. Hirschman, *Exit, Voice and Loyalty*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970).

Part III

The Viability of Payroll Files in Exploring Evolving Jobs: A Progress Report

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Introduction

In exploring the concept of evolving jobs we are concerned with that group of employees, sometimes called exempt or excepted staff, who hold professional level jobs outside civil service systems or their equivalent in private universities. In the private sector, these are employees who are exempted from the requirements of the Fair Labor Standards Act regarding hourly overtime compensation. Public sector institutions are not bound by this system but often use its definitions in their personnel systems. In a university setting these employees are those professional, administrative and technical staff supporting the academic mission of the institution. They manage or coordinate such functions as the scheduling of classrooms, collection and accounting of fees, administration of residence halls, purchasing of supplies, maintenance of facilities, compilation of data for developing a budget, maintenance of student records, and the sorting and monitoring of government contract compliance regulations.

In terms of size, the professional staff managing these functions constitutes a significant portion of the university workforce and represents a large variety of jobs. Those include, among others, assistant deans, admissions staff, development staff, financial aids staff, legal officers, assorted managers, accountants, computer programmers and planners. The numbers are not inconsequential. At the two institutions which have provided data sources for various phases of this study, Stanford University and the University of Washington, they constitute 40.8% and 35.4% of the respective workforces. At Stanford this represents 1,891 of a total of 4,631 employees; and at the University of Washington, 3,149 of 8,892 (excluding faculty in each case).

This portion of the report, describing work in progress will deal specifically with the development of a data base related to a segment of these employees at the University of Washington, its comparability to a somewhat similar data base previously developed at Stanford, and applications relative to career mobility in general and the evolving jobs concept in specific. Finally, we will discuss supplementary data sources at each institution which may prove more effective in exploring the evolving jobs concept.

The University of Washington exempt workforce. The University of Washington data base profiles the exempt workforce defined as exempt from the Washington State Higher Education Board Classification, as opposed to the Fair Labor Standards Act. An overall picture of the University of Washington workforce is represented in Table I with breakdowns by race and sex. It reflects both exempt employees, included in the executive/administrative/manager category and professional categories, as well as non-exempt included in clerical/secretarial, technical/paraprofessional, crafts and trades and service worker categories. The Stanford data includes a merged historical

Table 1

Classified and Exempt Staff Profile
By Ethnic Group and Sex by EEO-6
Category/Subgroup
October 31, 1978 Payroll

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EEO-6 Category/Subgroup	EEO-6 Code	Total All	Non-Minority		Minority		Totals				% Minority	% Female
			Male	Female	Male	Female	Non-Min.	Min.	Male	Female		
Exec/Admin/Managers (Total)	1.0	409.6	220.5	146.4	29.7	13.0	366.9	42.7	250.2	159.4	10.4%	38.9%
Professionals (Total)		2739.6	916.7	1517.8	95.3	209.8	2434.5	305.1	1011.5	1727.6	11.1%	63.1%
Medical & Health Workers	4.0	1175.9	102.7	949.1	14.0	110.1	1051.8	124.1	116.7	1059.2	10.6%	90.1%
Life & Physical Scientists	4.1	615.6	309.7	240.8	18.5	46.6	550.5	65.1	328.2	287.4	10.6%	46.7%
Engineers	4.2	147.7	134.7	1.0	12.0	.0	135.7	12.0	146.7	1.0	8.1%	0.7%
Computer Specialists	4.3	154.6	108.1	37.0	5.5	4.0	145.1	9.5	113.6	41.0	6.1%	26.5%
Physicians, Dentists, etc.	4.4	77.2	48.2	20.8	4.7	3.5	69.0	8.2	52.9	24.3	10.6%	31.5%
Accountants	4.5	92.2	37.5	35.7	12.0	17.0	63.2	29.0	49.0	7.7	31.4%	46.3%
Authors, Editors, Reporters	4.6	73.2	21.0	32.8	.0	1.4	73.8	1.4	21.0	54.2	1.9%	72.1%
Personnel & Labor Rel. Wkrs.	4.7	32.9	8.5	14.7	5.5	4.2	23.2	9.7	14.0	18.9	29.5%	57.4%
Vocational & Educ. Counselors	4.8	119.2	40.9	52.7	11.1	14.5	93.6	25.6	52.0	67.2	21.5%	56.4%
All Other Professionals	4.9	249.1	105.4	123.2	12.0	8.5	228.6	20.5	117.4	131.7	8.2%	52.9%
Clerical/Secretarial (Total)	5.0	3063.9	197.3	2342.7	78.5	485.4	2300.0	563.9	295.8	2828.1	18.4%	92.3%
Technical/Paraprofessional (Total)		1045.5	456.3	366.5	80.1	142.6	822.8	222.7	536.4	509.1	21.3%	48.7%
Medical & Health Related	6.0	472.9	97.9	238.2	31.6	104.2	336.1	136.8	130.5	342.4	28.9%	72.4%
Electrical/Engineering	6.1	149.7	131.7	4.5	12.5	1.0	136.2	13.5	144.2	5.5	9.0%	3.7%
Data Processing	6.2	86.1	36.0	29.2	5.0	15.9	65.2	20.9	41.0	45.1	24.3%	52.4%
All Other Technicians	6.3	336.8	190.7	94.6	30.0	21.5	285.3	51.5	220.7	116.1	15.3%	34.5%
Crafts and Trades (Total)	7.0	432.3	373.3	7.0	52.0	.0	380.3	52.0	425.3	7.0	12.0%	1.6%
Service Workers (Total)		1201.3	400.3	285.9	249.3	265.8	686.2	515.1	649.6	551.7	42.9%	45.9%
Operatives	8.0	62.3	35.0	7.8	19.0	2.5	40.8	21.5	54.0	8.3	34.5%	13.3%
Security	8.1	103.5	76.0	10.5	14.0	3.0	86.5	17.0	90.0	13.5	16.4%	13.0%
Food Service Workers	8.2	268.4	22.2	149.4	20.0	76.8	171.6	96.8	42.2	226.2	36.1%	84.3%
Custodians	8.3	560.5	185.6	71.0	175.4	128.5	256.6	303.9	361.0	199.5	54.2%	35.6%
Gardeners/Groundskeepers	8.4	41.0	28.0	6.0	7.0	.0	34.0	7.0	35.0	6.0	17.1%	14.6%
Laundry Workers	8.5	64.5	9.0	12.0	5.5	38.0	21.0	43.5	14.5	50.0	67.4%	77.5%
All Other Service Workers	8.6	101.1	44.5	31.2	8.4	17.0	75.7	25.4	52.9	48.2	25.1%	47.7%
Total Classified & Exempt Staff		8092.2	2524.4	4666.3	384.9	1116.6	7190.7	1701.5	3108.8	5782.9	19.1%	65.0%
			28.4%	52.5%	6.6%	12.6%	80.9%	19.1%	35.0%	65.0%		

Source: University of Washington, Office for Affirmative Action.

computerized data file with information on the full workforce, comparable to that represented in Table I spanning the years through 1978. (Detailed analyses in prior studies, however, focused primarily on the manager/administrator/officials job group, comparable to the University of Washington executive/administrative/manager group.)

Differences in data management procedures between the two institutions prevented development of a historical file comparable to the Stanford data base. Computerized annual payroll files which had been saved over time allowed the development of the Stanford file. Tapes were saved only for a two-year period at the University of Washington. However, data on exempt employees had been systematically saved since 1975 by the University of Washington Affirmative Action Office permitting work on the development of a comparable base on a more limited portion of the workforce.

Definition of the population. The University of Washington is governed in many of its personnel procedures by the state's Higher Education Personnel Board (HEP Board), a three-member commission appointed by the Governor to establish Civil Service policies and salary schedules for classified staff employees throughout higher education. Executive heads, confidential secretaries and administrative assistants to the president and vice presidents are exempted from the HEP Board classification by statute (91 in 1978). In addition, "permissive exemptions," numbering 796 in 1978, are allowed for jobs including principal assistants to executive heads, those involved with continuing education activities, those with responsibility for research activities and those involved with counseling students. Generally, these are jobs defined as close to the academic and research mission of the institution and involving discretionary decision responsibility. In relation to the total University workforce the exempt staff represents most of those in the executive/administrative/manager job category and about one-fifth of those in the professional category. The Stanford exempt data file encompasses nearly all employees in these two job categories. Thus, the University of Washington file constitutes a narrower group of employees but those most specifically of interest in relation to the evolving jobs concept.

The University of Washington exempt file includes a total of 1,591 employees appearing on the payroll from 1974 through 1980. Data elements include demographic variables such as race, sex, birthdate and year of hire. Job-related variables include job codes for each year beginning with 1975, salary grade for each year beginning with 1977, and salary, percent time, pay unit and service period for each year in the file.

Internal mobility rates. University of Washington procedures permit employees or their supervisors to apply for reclassification of exempt jobs to a higher salary range as responsibilities increase. At the same time, new positions may be created and classified as exempt if the job carries appropriate responsibilities. As noted in a prior paper (Estler and Miner, 1982), evolving jobs may be formally

recognized through a title change, salary increase, movement to a new position and a change in reporting status. While the University of Washington data file will not permit exploration of all those possibilities, they do permit analysis of the general dimension through changes in salary grade which would be likely to reflect not only changes in salary, but reclassifications and job changes as well. A picture of activity related to exempt staff activity for a single year, 1979-80, is shown in Table 2. It shows that 52 of 58 requests for new positions were approved, while 66 of 75 requests for reclassification to higher salary grades were approved. Only 10 requests for reclassification of classified jobs to exempt were approved, representing approximately 1% of all exempt jobs reflecting the apparent barrier in movement between exempt and classified jobs that appears to exist in the labor force in general (Kanter, 1977). In relation to evolving jobs our interest is in the process of reclassification to higher salary grades as an indicator of formal recognition of an evolved job.

While the 1979-80 Personnel Office data does not reflect the number of personnel filling new positions who were previously on the payroll, we can infer that number to be extremely low through comparison with internal transition rates computed through the exempt data file shown in Table 3. The degree of movement across salary grades from one year to the next can be calculated by cross-tabulating employees by salary grade in a given year against salary grade for the subsequent years. Three sets of the resulting transition matrices are included in Appendix B. Rates of movement for a given transition are calculated by summing the number of employees in a different salary grade and dividing by the total number of employees present in both years of transition. Representing only employees present for each year of a given transition, it shows 60 employees changing salary grades between October 1979 and October 1980. Personnel Office records indicate 66 approved salary grade reclassifications between August 1979 and August 1980 suggesting little likelihood that salary grade changes in the exempt history files reflect assignment to newly established jobs as opposed to re-evaluation of the responsibility level of existing jobs.

Assuming, then, that virtually all of the salary grade transitions represent reclassifications based on re-evaluation of job responsibilities (the procedures for which are detailed in Appendix A), we can assess the magnitude of formal recognition of evolving jobs by looking at annual internal transition rates, again shown in Table 3 (and elaborated in Appendix B). These data suggest that one job in ten is formally recognized for changed responsibilities in a given year.

In reference to the preceding development of a theory of evolving jobs based on qualitative research methods, these data and the fact of their existence are important. The theory would predict that, over time, an organization, characterized as a university, by the elements of ambiguity and flat structure, would develop formal mechanisms to

Table 2

Exempt Staff - Position Evaluation Activity for the Period of August 1, 1979 Thru July 31, 1980 (12 months)

Type of Evaluation		Requests			Resolutions			Pending
		Brought Forward	New	Total	Approved	Rejected	Total	Carried Forward
Requests for Exempt Staff Status	New positions		58	58	52	4	56	2
	From classified staff status	2	13	15	10	4	14	1
	From academic staff status		2	2	2		2	
	Sub-total	2	73	75	64	8	72	3
Requests for re-evaluation of assigned salary guide		1	74	75	66	7	73	2
Total evaluation activity		3	147	150	130	15	145	5

Source: University of Washington, Department of Personnel Services, August 1, 1980

Table 3

Salary Grade Transitions of Employees
Present in Each Year of Transition

	Transition Years		
	1977-78	1978-70	1979-80
Number of employees changing salary grades	57	81	60
Number of employees remaining in grade	490	492	385
Total employed in both years	547	573	645
Percent change	10.4	14.1	9.3

Source: University of Washington, Exempt Staff History File, 1974-1980

deal with the process of responsibility accretion. The policies and procedures at the University of Washington, like Stanford, shows adaptation acknowledging the evolving jobs phenomenon. The data suggest further that a fairly significant portion of the exempt workforce receive formal recognition for an evolved job each year.

Supplementary data bases. The evolving jobs phenomenon involves a range of both organizational and individual variables. While data such as those described here may be useful in providing a demographic analysis of a university workforce, they quickly reach limits in testing notions related to internal career mobility. As defined, the evolving jobs concept requires highly specific data to explore in detail. While qualitative data revealed in interviews and individual case studies can provide a rich view of the process, they are prohibitive to collect in sufficient quantity to identify the extent of the process in a given organization and to test hypotheses suggested by the qualitative analyses. The preceding analysis, based on a single institution, suggests a useful route to existing data which is to some extent comparable to that available at other institutions. However, more in-depth quantitative analysis seems to call for data more specific to the process.

The critical incident technique developed by Flanagan (1954) draws attention to those specific occasions illustrating the phenomenon under study. In the case of evolving jobs, as organizations have developed procedures to respond to the phenomenon, record-keeping procedures have evolved to document them. While reclassification is only one possible organizational response to an evolved job, we might reasonably assume it is the dominant response. Exploration of processes at both Stanford and the University of Washington suggest data regarding reclassifications exist in some form at both institutions. However, they do not exist in readily accessible computer files. In the Stanford case, some portion are computerized. In the University of Washington case, a project is currently underway to code variables regarding reclassifications over a one and one-half year period. In each case, the data may be too narrow for full-blown hypothesis testing. But in both cases they will allow some exploration regarding their potential value in exploring the evolving jobs concept.

APPENDIX A

University of Washington Exempt Staff Procedures and Criteria

APPENDIX A-1

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON EXEMPT STAFF PERSONNEL PROGRAM

(Approved by: Provost & VP for Academic Affairs by authority of Exec. Order No. 4
VP for Business and Finance by authority of Exec. Order No. 5)

1. INTRODUCTION

Under the provisions of RCW 28.B.20.130(2), the University of Washington is authorized to administer a personnel program for those staff members exempted from coverage under the provisions of the Higher Education Personnel Board (HEPB). Executive Order 56 establishes the University's program and describes briefly the basic policies surrounding it.

In recognition of the significant role performed by the exempt staff in assisting the institution to meet its commitments to students and to the public, the University has adopted the following Exempt Staff Personnel Program so as to insure as nearly as possible equitable personnel procedures for all covered exempt employees.

2. COMPENSATION PLAN

A. Assignment of Salary Range. Based upon a description of the duties to be performed by an exempt employee, each exempt position shall be evaluated and assigned to a salary grade based upon the following job elements:

- Knowledge and experience necessary to perform the job.
- Complexity of the responsibilities of the job.
- Importance of the job to the success of the University.
- External market considerations affecting a particular job classification.

In order to make comparative judgments, each exempt position will be analyzed on the basis of twenty-six job element factors to which a range of points will be assigned, depending upon the complexity of each factor. The total number of points assigned to a given position is a measure of the relationship of that position to others and serves as the basis for subsequent assignment to a salary grade.

The establishment of new exempt positions or the reassignment of existing positions may be proposed as appropriate by Deans and Vice Presidents. Based upon a description of the requirements for and responsibilities and duties of the position submitted by the Dean or Vice President to the Exempt Staff Administrator, the position will be evaluated and assigned to an appropriate salary grade. If the Dean or Vice President disagrees with the assignment of the position, he or she may request, in writing, review by the University Budget Committee. Such review and decision by the University Budget Committee shall be made as expeditiously as possible.

B. Salary Grade. Fourteen salary grades have been established so as to provide for the compensation of exempt positions based upon their comparable job worth as determined through the position assignment procedures. A salary range for each salary grade has been established which is designed to recognize the professional growth of individual incumbents by providing an opportunity for salary advancements. These ranges serve as a guide for the setting of salaries of individuals based upon their experience and performance. Whenever salary increases are authorized by the legislature for the exempt staff, performance evaluations will be made of each incumbent and individuals will be advanced within the salary range steps at rates indicated by the relative performance of the individual.

C. Salary Administration.

(1) Initial Appointments. An individual appointed to an exempt position shall normally be paid at the minimum of the assigned salary grade. Factors which may be considered in establishing a higher salary may include experience and special qualifications of the individual.

(2) Promotion. An individual promoted to an exempt position with a higher salary grade should receive an increase which represents at least a 4% increase over the current salary, or the mimimum of the salary grade, whichever is greater. Proposed increases that exceed 10% of the current salary are subject to review by the University Budget Committee.

(3) Transfer. A transfer to a different position, but in the same exempt salary grade shall neither require nor preclude a salary adjustment.

(4) Position Reclassification. An employee occupying a position that has been reassigned to a higher salary grade as a result of the position re-evaluation shall receive a salary adjustment as in 1.C.(2) above.

(5) Demotion for Reasons of Reduction in Force. If an individual is reassigned to a position in a lower classification as a result of a reduction in force, the individual's salary will not be reduced. However, further salary adjustments will be controlled by the salary range of the new classification.

(6) Periodic Salary Adjustments.

(a) General Increases to All Salary Ranges. Subject both to the availability of funds and the specific authorization of the legislature, individual exempt employees may receive either a dollar or percentage salary adjustment based upon a

general across-the-board increase to all salary ranges. Such increases will be awarded independent of performance per se and will result in an upward adjustment of the minimum and maximum of all ranges.

(b) Merit Increases. Subject to the availability of funds and specific direction of the legislature, individual performance reviews will be conducted by University administrators for awarding salary adjustments within the appropriate ranges on the basis of performance. Supervisors will prepare written evaluations that reflect an assessment of the performance of each exempt employee under their supervision. The performance evaluations along with the recommendations for merit increases will be submitted to the appropriate Dean or Vice President for review and action. Copies of the performance evaluations will be maintained in departmental files and upon request, may be reviewed by the respective exempt employee. The percentage increase will be dependent upon the availability of funds and any administrative guidelines for conducting the specific review. Salary steps within a range are provided as a guide for consistency in awarding merit increases but it is not mandatory that they be used. Individuals should, however, not receive merit increases which would place them over the maximum for the assigned range. All exempt staff will be eligible for such merit adjustment consideration independent of the funding source.

(7) Supplemental Compensation.

(a) Additional Duties Performed Outside Regular Work Assignment. It is expected that the working time of regular exempt staff employees is to be devoted to the duties and responsibilities which may be assigned them by the University. Every effort shall be made to schedule all work of the exempt employees as a part of their normal work schedule. Compensation to an employee for University service not represented by his or her regular salary may be paid only under exceptional circumstances. In no case shall such payment exceed a total of 25% of his or her regular salary for the period during which such services are performed nor shall the period for such excess payment extend beyond one month. Exceptions may be recommended for individuals teaching in University-sponsored Continuation Education or Training courses. Excess payments under this section are subject to review by the University Budget Committee.

(b) Extra Hours Associated with Regular Work Assignment. Exempt staff personnel are not eligible for overtime compensation. Unusual circumstances may require an employee to work an excessive amount of hours for an extended period of time.

EXEMPT STAFF MODIFIED JOB EVALUATION SYSTEM

SUMMARY OF FACTORS AND WEIGHTINGS OF TOTAL POTENTIAL POINTS

	% OF TOTAL POINTS
A. ENTRY QUALIFICATIONS:	22%
(1) Minimum number of years formal education.	
(2) Years of relevant work experience.	
B. JOB CONTENT:	45%
Difficulty of Thinking and Problem Solving	23%
(1) How specifically is direction given to incumbent.	
(2) Degree incumbent's work typically monitored.	
(3) Degree incumbent can obtain authoritative advice	
(4) Degree established rules, instruction and/or procedures apply.	
(5) Degree precedents apply to job duties.	
(6) Degree of freedom in selecting methods used.	
(7) Degree incumbent schedules own work.	
(8) Time it typically takes to determine effectiveness of work.	
(9) Degree of problem-solving involving integration of information/recommendations.	
(10) Degree of decision making involving theoretical/subjective judgments.	
(11) Extent of resourceful development/application of new approaches, etc.	
Personal Interaction	8%
(12a) Institutional officers (Regents, President, Vice President)	
or	
(12b) Dean, Asst. Vice Presidents, Head of Major Adm./Academic Depts.	
(13a) Faculty and/or staff	
or	
(13b) Students and/or patients	
(14) General public	
Supervision Exercised	12%
(15) Responsibility for Personnel Staffing	
(16) Number of staff	
(17) Number of separate functional areas	
Working Conditions	2%
(18) Externally imposed deadlines	
(19) Responding to questions on immediate basis	
(20) Irregular work week.	
C. RESPONSIBILITY AND IMPACT ON END RESULTS:	33%
(1) How influential is the position within the institution?	
(2) Likely effect resulting from type of errors?	
(3) Impact on the fiscal affairs of the institution?	
(4) Importance of impact on the end results of institution?	
TOTAL	100%

APPENDIX A-2

SUMMARY OF EXEMPTION CRITERIA FOR PURPOSES OF DETERMINING POSITIONS TO BE EXEMPT FROM THE CLASSIFIED STAFF

University of Washington
Department of Personnel Services

Confidential Secretaries and Administrative Assistants to the President and Vice Presidents

Individuals serving as a confidential secretary and/or administrative assistant to the President or a Vice President.

Executive Heads of Major Administrative or Academic Divisions

Individuals serving as the president, provost, vice provosts, vice presidents, assistant vice presidents, deans, associate deans, directors or chairpersons and who are responsible for a separate budgetary unit or units and direct the work of others. Heads of major administrative or academic divisions must have a reporting relationship not below that of a vice provost, assistant vice president or associate dean in order to be considered executive heads.

Principal Assistants to Executive Heads

Individuals serving as principal assistants to executive heads of a major administrative or academic division and who have major administrative or program responsibility within the division and report directly to the executive head.

Executive heads of major administrative or academic divisions may have no principal assistants or may have one or more.

Counseling of Students

Individuals responsible for directing and/or participating in providing academic, athletic, career, medical, financial aid, student activity and/or personal counseling to students.

Continuing Education

Individuals responsible for or assisting in the originating and developing of formal educational programs for the general public, usually involving close contact with faculty and staff, or training or consulting with specific groups in the community to enable them to provide specialized training and/or services to the community.

Research

Individuals having formal academic preparation at least at the Bachelor's level or demonstrated professional competence in a specific field, and having responsibility for or assisting in one or more of the following tasks:

- Identification and definition of research problems.

Attachment A

D 42.1 Pg 2 of 2

Summary of Exemption Criteria

- Design of approaches or hypothesis to be tested and the methodology to be used.
- Design of specific phases of research projects.
- Analysis of results.
- Development of conclusions and hypotheses.
- Presentation of research results in publishable form.
- Obtaining research grants.

Graphic Arts and Publications

Individuals having prescribed academic preparation or special training in the fields of graphic arts, printing and publications, and who are assigned to a major academic or administrative unit responsible for scholarly or related publications, or the full range of printing and publications activities as may be analogous to the office of the Public Printer.

APPENDIX A-3

SALARY RANGES FOR EXEMPT STAFF

Effective October 1, 1979

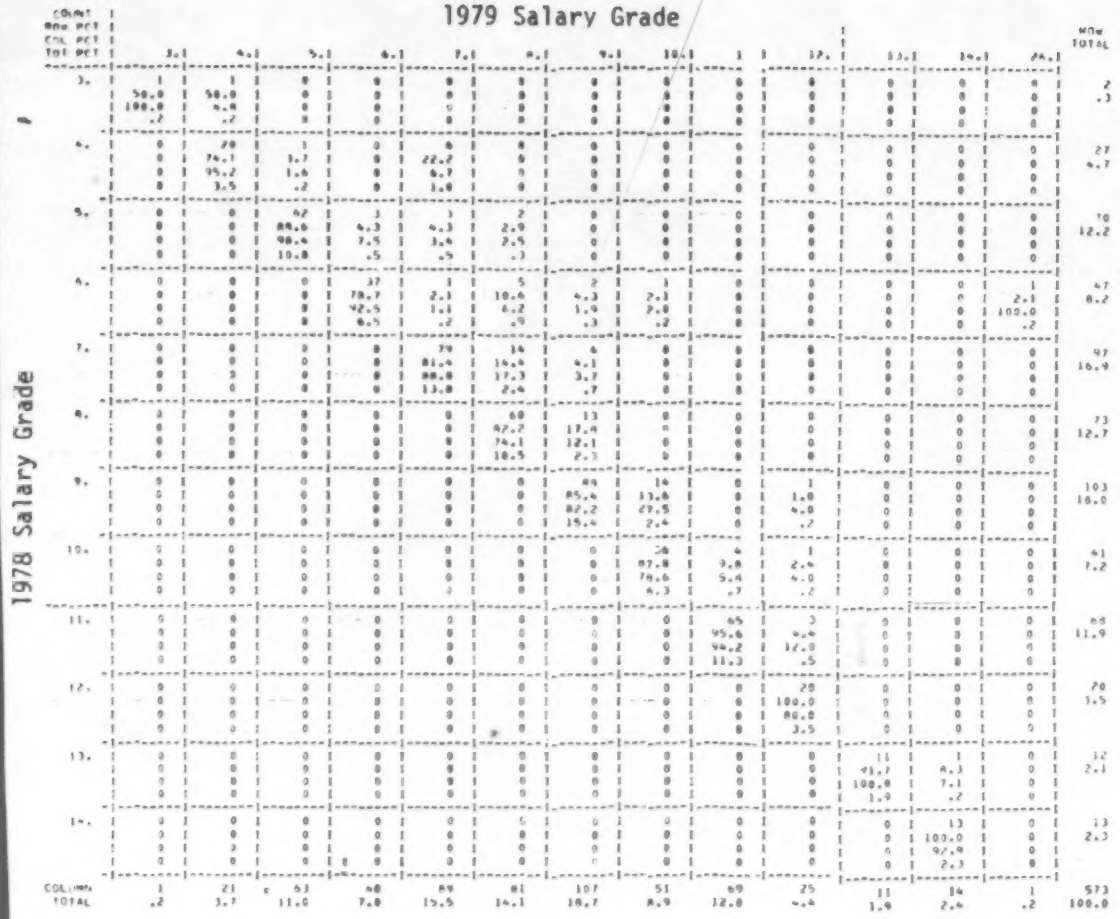
Salary Grade	Annual/ Monthly	Minimum	1st Quartile	Mid-Point	3rd Quartile	Maximum
14	A	35,244	----------	O P E N	----------	
	M	2,937				
13	A	31,308	36,072	40,836	45,600	50,352
	M	2,609	3,006	3,403	3,800	4,196
12	A	27,816	32,040	36,264	40,488	44,700
	M	2,318	2,670	3,022	3,374	3,725
11	A	24,696	28,452	32,196	35,952	39,696
	M	2,058	2,371	2,683	2,996	3,308
10	A	21,924	25,260	28,584	31,920	35,244
	M	1,827	2,105	2,382	2,660	2,937
9	A	19,476	22,140	24,792	27,444	30,096
	M	1,623	1,845	2,066	2,287	2,508
8	A	17,292	19,656	22,020	24,360	26,736
	M	1,441	1,638	1,835	2,030	2,228
7	A	15,348	16,992	18,636	20,280	21,924
	M	1,279	1,416	1,553	1,690	1,827
6	A	13,896	15,396	16,884	18,372	19,860
	M	1,158	1,283	1,407	1,531	1,655
5	A	12,588	13,944	15,288	16,644	17,988
	M	1,049	1,162	1,274	1,387	1,499
4	A	11,400	12,624	13,848	15,072	16,296
	M	950	1,052	1,154	1,256	1,358
3	A	10,320	11,436	12,540	13,644	14,748
	M	860	953	1,045	1,137	1,229
2	A	9,336	10,344	11,352	12,360	13,356
	M	778	862	946	1,030	1,113
1	A	8,460	9,372	10,284	11,196	12,096
	M	705	781	857	933	1,008

APPENDIX B

University of Washington Exempt Staff

Salary Grade Transition Matrices

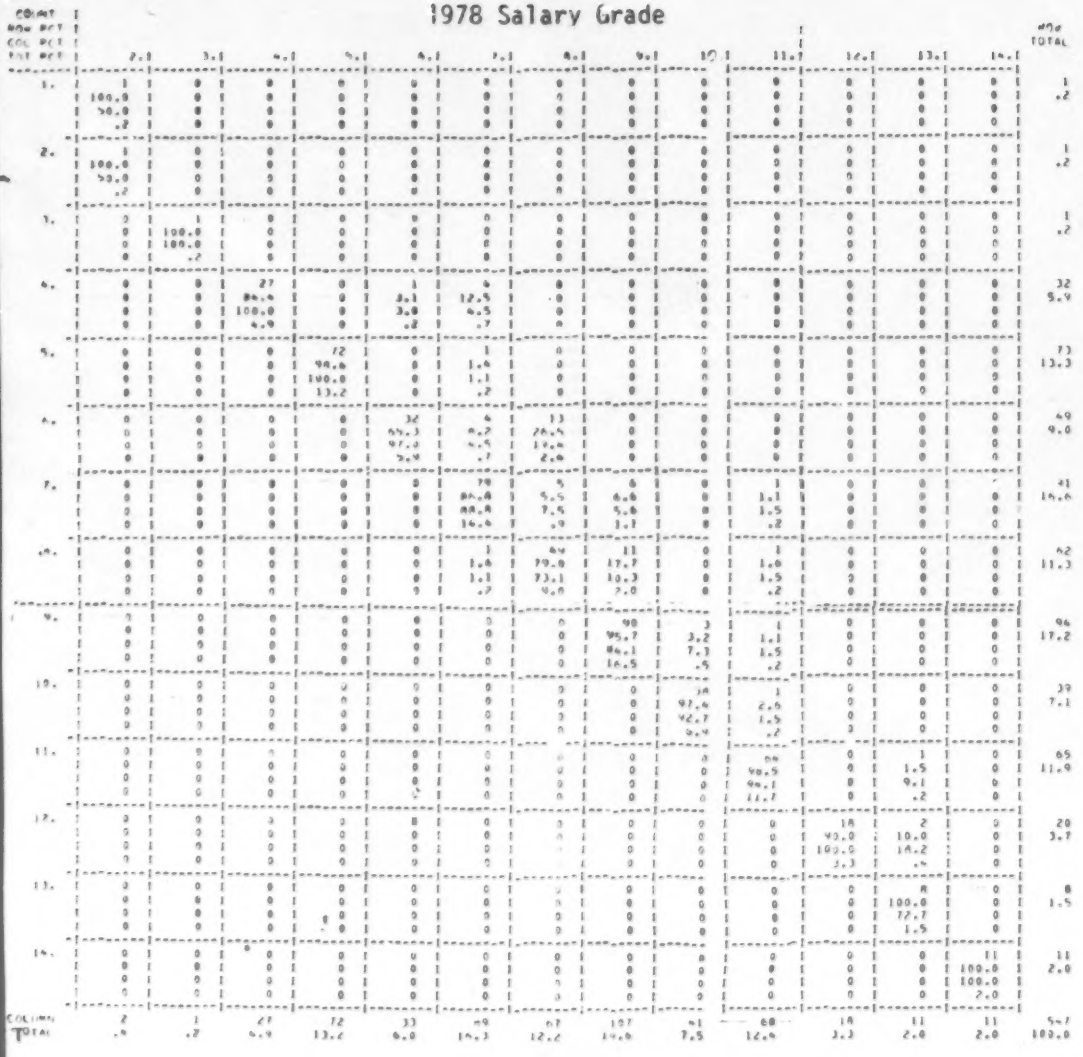
1977-1980



Appendix B-2.

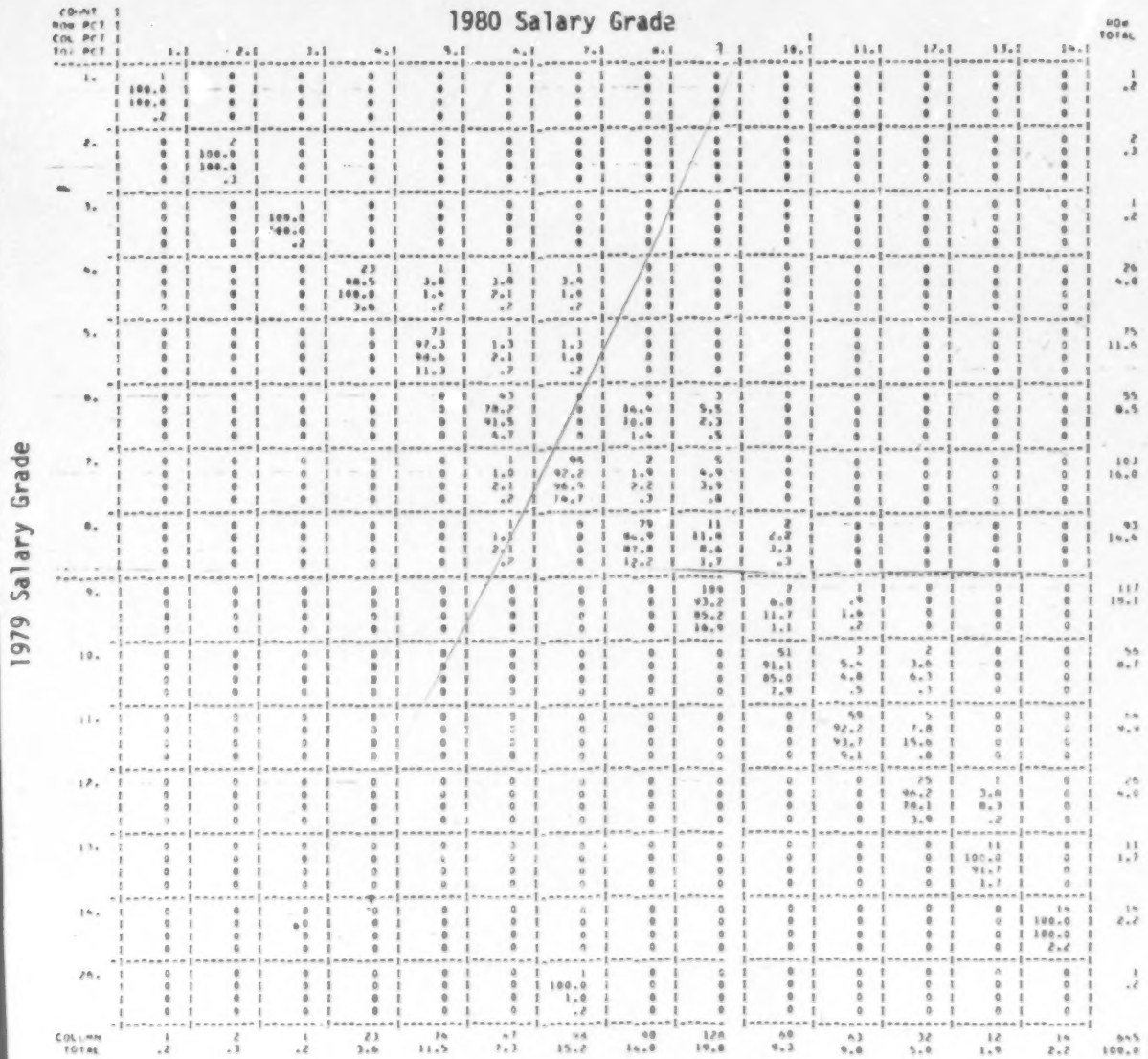
University of Washington Exempt Staff
Salary Grade Transitions 1978-79

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



Appendix B-1.

University of Washington Exempt Staff
Salary Grade Transitions 1977-78



Appendix B-3.

University of Washington Exempt Staff
Salary Grade Transition 1979-80

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